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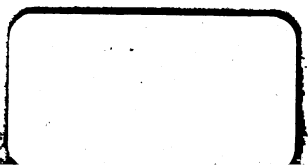
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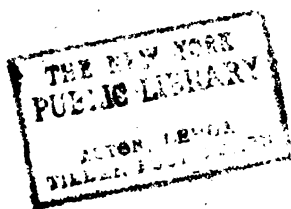
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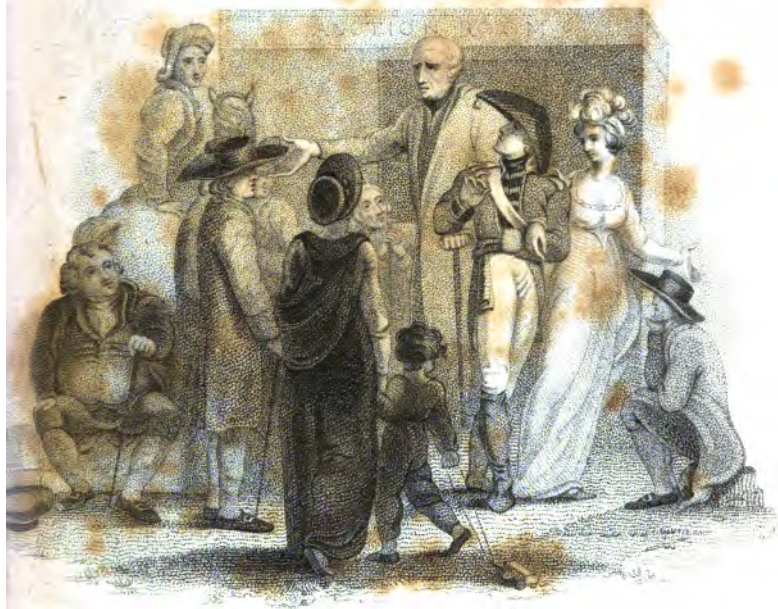


BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Published by W^m Duane Philadelphia, 1809 —

THE
WORKS
OF
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

VOLUME IV.



PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM DUANE.

1809.

THE
WORKS
OF
DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
IN
PHILOSOPHY, POLITICS, AND MORALS:
CONTAINING, BESIDE ALL THE WRITINGS PUBLISHED
IN FORMER COLLECTIONS, HIS
DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE,
AS MINISTER OF THE UNITED STATES, AT
THE COURT OF VERSAILLES;
A VARIETY OF LITERARY ARTICLES,
AND
EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE,
NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED:
WITH
MEMOIRS AND ANECDOTES OF HIS LIFE.

VOL. IV.

PHILADELPHIA: PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM DUANE.

.....
1809

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May 1913

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DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO WIT :



BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the Twentieth day of February, in the Thirty Third year of the Independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1809, WILLIAM DUANE of the said district, hath deposited in this office, the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit: "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, in Philosophy, "Politics, and Morals: containing, beside all the Writings published "in former collections, his Diplomatic Correspondence, as minister of "the United States, at the Court of Versailles; a variety of Literary "Articles, and Epistolary Correspondence never before published: "with Memoirs and Anecdotes of his Life."

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, intituled "an Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned." And also to the Act, entitled "an Act supplementary to an Act, entitled, 'an Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

D. CALDWELL,

Clerk of the District of Pennsylvania.

NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

MANY of the papers which compose this volume, have been long known to the public ; but several, particularly of the concluding papers, now first appear in the name of their author. To this latter class of the papers, notes are prefixed shewing the means by which they were obtained, and ascertained to have been the writings of Dr. Franklin.

It may require explanation why some of the papers of a literary and moral cast, and some two or three of a date subsequent to the revolution, should be comprehended in a volume which professes to give political papers before the revolution.

Perhaps it arose from the Editor's own idea of politics, which he deems inseparable from morals ; that the papers of this description are placed here. The Editor has always from his youth been accustomed to consider Dr. Franklin, as having by his writings and his influence for a long course of years, shaped and formed the American character, to that firm calmness, that deliberative activity, that patient frugality, that constancy of temper which were so necessary and appeared so conspicuous at the critical and trying period of the revolution. His ethical as well as his economical writings had all these moral tendencies ; and this volume exhibits memorials of the vastness of his conceptions, and his intuitive sagacity. The Albany union papers of 1754, exhibit a striking anticipation of those proud events which were realised thirty years afterwards ; while the Almanac of *Poor Richard*, which carried its amusement and its morals to the fire side of the American farmer, laid the foundation of correct thinking and economy, so congenial with the comparatively infant and rude state of society at the period in which they appeared ; that happy method of reasoning which took up society in its first elements, and taught the exact use and value of every thing it handled ; which subdued the vanities, and reconciled men to privations ; which excited industry, and established habits of contentment, in the midst of the wilderness which through this culture was one day destined to bloom with the fruits of liberty and civilization.

His examinations before the House of Commons and Privy Council, afford astonishing evidences of firmness, sagacity, intelligence, and collection of mind ; while his essay entitled *Plain Truth*, written so early as 1744, illustrates the same character of mental energy and public spirit, twenty years preceding. His Canada pamphlet, and Causes of the American Discontents, are conspicuous for their political matter, and their chaste simplicity of style. Even his essays on Discoveries, and on the Usefulness of the Mathematics, have all the same bearing, the promotion of knowledge to the bettering of human society. His essay on Public Men, p. 401, perhaps had some personal allusion ; but it is one of those happy strokes of genius, which is calculated for all times, for the age of Socrates and Athens, as well as for that in which it was written, and for the present day.

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POLITICAL, BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

ALBANY PAPERS.

Containing, I. Reasons and Motives on which the PLAN OF UNION FOR THE COLONIES was formed; II. Reasons against partial Unions; III. And the Plan of Union drawn by Benjamin Franklin, and unanimously agreed to by the Commissioners from New Hampshire, Massachusetts's Bay, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Maryland, and Pennsylvania,¹ met in Congress at Albany, in July 1754, to consider of the best Means of defending the King's Dominions in America, &c. a War being then apprehended; with the Reasons or Motives for each Article of the Plan.

Benjamin Franklin, was one of the four commissioners from Pennsylvania.²

¹ The reader must be informed here, that this plan was intended for all the colonies; but, commissioners from some of them not attending (from causes which are not specified) their consent to it was not, in this respect, universally expressed. Governor Pownall, however, says, "That he had an opportunity of conversing with, and knowing the sentiments of the commissioners appointed by their respective provinces, to attend this congress, to which they were called by the crown; of learning from their experience and judgment, the actual state of the American business and interest; and of hearing amongst them, the grounds and reasons of that American union, which they then had under deliberation, and transmitted the plan of to England;" and he adds, in another place, "that the sentiments of our colonies were collected in an authentic manner on this subject in the plan proposed by Dr. Franklin, and unanimously agreed to in congress." See Governor Pownall's Administration of the British Colonies. Vol. I. p. 13, Edit. 4, 1774, and Vol. II. p. 86.

² "Mr. [since Governor] Hutchinson was one of the commissioners for Massachusetts's Bay." Governor Pownall as above, Vol. I. II. p. 144. "Thomas Pownall, Esq. brother to John Pownall, Esq. one of the secretaries to the board of trade, and afterwards Governor of Massachusetts, was upon the spot." History of the British Empire in North America, p. 24.

I. Reasons and Motives on which the Plan of Union was formed.

THE commissioners from a number of the northern colonies being met at Albany, and considering the difficulties that have always attended the most necessary general measures for the common defence, or for the annoyance of the enemy, when they were to be carried through the several particular assemblies of all the colonies; some assemblies being before at variance with their governors or councils, and the several branches of the government not on terms of doing business with each other; others taking the opportunity, when their concurrence is wanted, to push for favorite laws, powers, or points, that they think could not at other times be obtained, and so creating disputes and quarrels; one assembly waiting to see what another will do, being afraid of doing more than its share, or desirous of doing less, or refusing to do any thing, because its country is not at present so much exposed as others, or because another will reap more immediate advantage; from one or other of which causes, the assemblies of six (out of seven) colonies applied to, had granted no assistance to Virginia, when lately invaded by the French, though purposely convened, and the importance of the occasion earnestly urged upon them; considering moreover, that one principal encouragement to the French, in invading and insulting the British American dominions, was their knowledge of our disunited state, and of our weakness arising from such want of union; and that from hence different colonies were, at different times, extremely harassed, and put to great expence both of blood and treasure, who would have remained in peace, if the enemy had had cause to fear the drawing on themselves the resentment and power of the whole; the said commissioners, considering also the present incroachments of the French, and the mischievous consequences that may be expected from them, if not opposed with our force, came to an unanimous resolution,—*That an union of the colonies is absolutely necessary for their preservation.*

The manner of forming and establishing this union was the next point. When it was considered, that the colonies were seldom all in equal danger at the same time, or equally near the danger, or equally sensible of it; that some of them had particular interests to manage, with which an union might interfere; and that they were extremely jealous of each other; it was thought impracticable to obtain a joint agreement of all the colonies to an union, in which the expence and burthen of defending any of them should be divided among them all; and if ever acts of assembly in all the colonies could be obtained for that purpose, yet as any colony, on the least dissatisfaction, might repeal its own act and thereby withdraw itself from the union, it would not be a stable one, or such as could be depended on: for if only one colony should, on any disgust withdraw itself, others might think it unjust and unequal that they, by continuing in the union, should be at the expence of defending a colony, which refused to bear its proportionable part, and would therefore one after another, withdraw, till the whole crumbled into its original parts. Therefore the commissioners came to another previous resolution, viz. *That it was necessary the union should be established by act of parliament.*

They then proceeded to sketch out a *plan of union*, which they did in a plain and concise manner, just sufficient to show their sentiments of the kind of union that would best suit the circumstances of the colonies, be most agreeable to the people, and most effectually promote his majesty's service, and the general interest of the British empire. This was respectfully sent to the assemblies of the several colonies for their consideration, and to receive such alterations and improvements as they should think fit and necessary; after which it was proposed to be transmitted to England to be perfected, and the establishment of it there humbly solicited.

This was as much as the commissioners could do.³

3. Dr. Davenant was so well convinced of the expediency of an union of the colonies, that he recites, at full length, a plan contrived, as he says, with good judgment for the purpose. Davenant, Vol. I. p. 40, 41, of Sir C. Whitworth's Edition.

II. *Reasons against partial Unions.*

It was proposed by some of the commissioners, to form the colonies into two or three distinct unions ; but for these reasons that proposal was dropped even by those that made it : viz.

1. In all cases where the strength of the whole was necessary to be used against the enemy, there would be the same difficulty in degree, to bring the several unions to unite together, as now the several colonies ; and consequently the same delays on our part and advantage to the enemy.

2. Each union would separately be weaker than when joined by the whole, obliged to exert more force, be oppressed by the expence, and the enemy less deterred from attacking it.

3. Where particular colonies have *selfish views*, as New York with regard to Indian trade and lands ; or are less exposed, being covered by others, as New Jersey, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maryland ; or have particular whims and prejudices against warlike measures in general, as Pennsylvania, where the Quakers predominate ; such colonies would have more weight in a partial union, and be better able to oppose and obstruct the measures necessary for the general good, than where they are swallowed up in the general union.

4. The Indian trade would be better regulated by the union of the whole than by the partial unions. And as Canada is chiefly supported by that trade, if it could be drawn into the hands of the English (as it might be if the Indians were supplied on moderate terms, and by honest traders appointed by and acting for the public) that alone would contribute greatly to the weakening of our enemies.

5. The establishing of new colonies westward on the Ohio and the lakes (a matter of considerable importance to the increase of British trade and power, to the breaking that of the French, and to the protection and security of our present colonies,) would best be carried on by a joint union.

6. It was also thought, that by the frequent meetings-together of commissioners or representatives from all the colonies, the circumstances of the whole would be better known, and the good of the whole better provided for ; and that the colonies would by this connection learn to consider themselves, not as so many independent states, but as members of the same body ; and thence be more ready to afford assistance and support to each other, and to make diversions in favor even of the most distant, and to join cordially in any expedition for the benefit of all against the common enemy.

These were the principal reasons and motives for forming the plan of union as it stands. To which may be added this, that as the union of the.....

The remainder of this article was lost.

III. Plan of a proposed Union of the several Colonies of Massachusetts's Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, for their mutual Defence and Security, and for extending the British Settlements in North America, with the Reasons and Motives for each Article of the Plan.....[as far as could be remembered.]

It is proposed—That humble application be made for an act of parliament of Great Britain, by virtue of which one general government may be formed in America, including all the said colonies, within and under which government each colony may retain its present constitution, except in the particulars wherein a change may be directed by the said act, as hereafter follows.⁴

⁴ The reader may perceive, by the difference of the *Italic* and *Roman* type, which is the text of the plan, and which the *reasons and motives* mentioned in the title. They are thus printed for perspicuity and for convenience.

PRESIDENT GENERAL, AND GRAND COUNCIL.

That the said general government be administered by a president general, to be appointed and supported by the crown ; and a grand council, to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies met in their respective assemblies.

It was thought that it would be best the president general should be supported as well as appointed by the crown ; that so all disputes between him and the grand council concerning his salary might be prevented ; as such disputes have been frequently of mischievous consequence in particular colonies, especially in time of public danger. The quit-rents of crown-lands in America might in a short time be sufficient for this purpose.—The choice of members for the grand council is placed in the house of representatives of each government, in order to give the people a share in this new general government, as the crown has its share by the appointment of the president-general.

But it being proposed by the gentlemen of the council of New York, and some other counsellors among the commissioners, to alter the plan in this particular, and to give the governors and council of the several provinces a share in the choice of the grand council, or at least a power of approving and confirming, or of disallowing the choice made by the house of representatives, it was said :

“ That the government or constitution proposed to be formed by the plan, consists of two branches ; a president general appointed by the crown, and a council chosen by the people, or by the people’s representatives, which is the same thing.

“ That by a subsequent article, the council chosen by the people can effect nothing without the consent of the president general appointed by the crown ; the crown possesses therefore full one half of the power of this constitution.

“ That in the British constitution, the crown is supposed to possess but one-third, the lords having their share.

“ That this constitution seemed rather more favorable for the crown.

“ That it is essential to English liberty, that the subject should not be taxed but by his own consent, or the consent of his elected representatives.

“ That taxes to be laid and levied by this proposed constitution will be proposed and agreed to by the representatives of the people, if the plan in this particular be preserved :

“ But if the proposed alteration should take place, it seemed as if matters may be so managed, as that the crown shall finally have the appointment not only of the president general, but of a majority of the grand council ; for seven out of eleven governors and councils are appointed by the crown :

“ And so the people in all the colonies would in effect be taxed by their governors.

“ It was therefore apprehended, that such alterations of the plan would give great dissatisfaction, and that the colonies could not be easy under such a power in governors, and such an infringement of what they take to be English liberty.

“ Besides, the giving a share in the choice of the grand council would not be equal with respect to all the colonies as their constitutions differ. In some, both governor and council are appointed by the crown. In others, they are both appointed by the proprietors. In some, the people have a share in the choice of the council ; in others, both government and council are wholly chosen by the people. But the house of representatives is every where chosen by the people ; and therefore, placing the right of choosing the grand council in the representatives is equal with respect to all.

“ That the grand council is intended to represent all the several houses of representatives of the colonies, as a house of representatives doth the several towns or counties of a colony. Could all the people of a colony be consulted and unite in public measures, a house of representatives would be needless, and could all the assemblies conveniently consult and unite in general measures, the grand council would be unnecessary.

"That a house of commons or the house of representatives, and the grand council, are thus alike in their nature and intention. And as it would seem improper that the king or house of lords should have a power of disallowing or appointing members of the house of commons;—so likewise, that a governor and council appointed by the crown should have a power of disallowing or appointing members of the grand council (who, in this constitution, are to be the representatives of the people.)

"If the governors and councils therefore were to have a share in the choice of any that are to conduct this general government, it should seem more proper that they choose the president-general. But this being an office of great trust and importance to the nation, it was thought better to be filled by the immediate appointment of the crown.

"The power proposed to be given by the plan to the grand council is only a concentration of the powers of the several assemblies in certain points for the general welfare ; as the power of the president general, is of the powers of the several governors in the same points.

"And as the choice therefore of the grand council, by the representatives of the people, neither gives the people any new powers, nor diminishes the power of the crown, it was thought and hoped the crown would not disapprove of it."

Upon the whole, the commissioners were of opinion, that the choice was most properly placed in the representatives of the people.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

That within months after the passing such act, the house of representatives, that happen to be sitting within that time, or that shall be especially for that purpose convened, may and shall choose members for the grand council, in the following proportion, that is to say,

<i>Massachusetts's Bay,</i>	-	-	-	-	7
<i>New Hampshire,</i>	-	-	-	-	2
<i>Connecticut,</i>	-	-	-	-	5
<i>Rhode Island,</i>	-	-	-	-	2
<i>New York,</i>	-	-	-	-	4

<i>New Jersey,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	3
<i>Pennsylvania,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	6
<i>Maryland,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	4
<i>Virginia,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	7
<i>North Carolina,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	4
<i>South Carolina,</i>	-	-	-	-	-	4
						<hr/> 48

It was thought, that if the least colony was allowed two, and the others in proportion, the number would be very great, and the expence heavy; and that less than two would not be convenient, as a single person, being by any accident prevented appearing at the meeting, the colony he ought to appear for would not be represented. That as the choice was not immediately popular, they would be generally men of good abilities for business, and men of reputation for integrity; and that forty-eight such men might be a number sufficient. But, though it was thought reasonable, that each colony should have a share in the representative body in some degree, according to the proportion it contributed to the general treasury: yet the proportion of wealth or power of the colonies is not to be judged by the proportion here fixed; because it was at first agreed, that the greatest colony should not have more than seven members, nor the least less than two: and the setting these proportions between these two extremes was not nicely attended to, as it would find itself, after the first election from the sums brought into the treasury, as by a subsequent article.

PLACE OF FIRST MEETING.

—who shall meet for the first time at the city of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, being called by the president general as soon as conveniently may be after his appointment.

Philadelphia was named as being the nearer the centre of the colonies, where the commissioners would be well and cheaply accommodated. The high-roads, through the whole extent, are for the most part very good, in which forty or fifty miles a day may very well be and frequently are travelled. Great part of the way may likewise be gone by water.

In summer time, the passages are frequently performed in a week from Charleston to Philadelphia and New York; and from Rhode Island to New York through the sound, in two or three days; and from New York to Philadelphia, by water and land, in two days, by stage boats and wheel carriages that set out every other day. The journey from Charleston to Philadelphia may likewise be facilitated by boats running up Chesapeake bay three hundred miles. But if the whole journey be performed on horseback, the most distant members (viz. the two from New Hampshire and from South Carolina) may probably render themselves at Philadelphia in fifteen or twenty days; the majority may be there in much less time.

NEW ELECTION.

That there shall be a new election of the members of the grand council every three years; and on the death or resignation of any member, his place should be supplied by a new choice at the next sitting of the assembly of the colony he represented.

Some colonies have annual assemblies, some continue during a governor's pleasure; three years was thought a reasonable medium, as affording a new member time to improve himself in the business, and to act after such improvement; and yet giving opportunities, frequently enough, to change him, if he has misbehaved.

PROPORTION OF MEMBERS AFTER THE FIRST THREE YEARS.

That after the first three years, when the proportion of money arising out of each colony to the general treasury can be known, the number of members to be chosen for each colony shall from time to time, in all ensuing elections, be regulated by that proportion (yet so as that the number to be chosen by any one province be not more than seven, nor less than too.)

By a subsequent article it is proposed, that the general council shall lay and levy such general duties, as to them may appear most equal and least burthensome, &c. Suppose, for instance, they lay a small duty or excise on some

commodity imported into or made in the colonies, and pretty generally and equally used in all of them; as rum perhaps, or wine: the yearly produce of this duty or excise, if fairly collected, would be in some colonies greater, in others less, as the colonies are greater or smaller. When the collector's accounts are brought in, the proportions will appear; and from them it is proposed to regulate the proportion of representatives to be chosen at the next general election, within the limits however of seven and two. These numbers may therefore vary in course of years, as the colonies may in the growth and increase of people. And thus the quota of tax from each colony would naturally vary with its circumstances; thereby preventing all disputes and dissatisfaction about the just proportions due from each; which might otherwise produce pernicious consequences, and destroy the harmony and good agreement that ought to subsist between the several parts of the union.

MEETINGS OF THE GRAND COUNCIL, AND CALL.

That the grand council shall meet once in every year, and oftener if occasion require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to at the last preceding meeting, or as they shall be called to meet at by the president general on any emergency; he having first obtained in writing the consent of seven of the members to such call, and sent due and timely notice to the whole.

It was thought, in establishing and governing new colonies or settlements, regulating Indian trade, Indian treaties, &c. there would be every year sufficient business arise to require at least one meeting, and at such meeting many things might be suggested for the benefit of all the colonies. This annual meeting may either be at a time or place certain, to be fixed by the president general and grand council at their first meeting; or left at liberty, to be at such time and place as they shall adjourn to, or be called to meet at by the president general.

In time of war it seems convenient, that the meeting should be in that colony, which is nearest the seat of action,

The power of calling them on any emergency seemed necessary to be vested in the president general; but that such power might not be wantonly used to harass the members, and oblige them to make frequent long journies to little purpose, the consent of seven at least to such call was supposed a convenient guard.

CONTINUANCE.

That the grand council have power to choose their speaker; and shall neither be dissolved, prorogued, nor continued sitting longer than six weeks at one time, without their own consent or the special command of the crown.

The speaker should be presented for approbation; it being convenient, to prevent misunderstandings and disgusts, that the mouth of the council should be a person agreeable, if possible, both to the council and president general.

Governors have sometimes wantonly exercised the power of proroguing or continuing the sessions of assemblies, merely to harass the members and compel a compliance; and sometimes dissolve them on slight disgusts. This it was feared might be done by the president general, if not provided against: and the inconvenience and hardship would be greater in the general government than in particular colonies, in proportion to the distance the members must be from home, during sittings, and the long journies some of them must necessarily take.

MEMBERS' ALLOWANCE.

That the members of the grand council shall be allowed for their service ten shillings sterling per diem, during their session and journey to and from the place of meeting; twenty miles to be reckoned a day's journey.

It was thought proper to allow some wages, lest the expence might deter some suitable persons from the service; —and not to allow too great wages, lest unsuitable persons should be tempted to cabal for the employment, for the sake of gain. Twenty miles was set down as a day's journey, to allow for accidental hindrances on the road, and the greater expences of travelling than residing at the place of meeting,

ASSENT OF PRESIDENT GENERAL AND HIS DUTY.

That the assent of the president general be requisite to all acts of the grand council; and that it be his office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution.

The assent of the president general to all acts of the grand council was made necessary, in order to give the crown its due share of influence in this government, and connect it with that of Great Britain. The president general, besides one half of the legislative power, hath in his hands the whole executive power.

*POWER OF PRESIDENT GENERAL AND GRAND COUNCIL :
TREATIES OF PEACE AND WAR.*

That the president general, with the advice of the grand council, hold or direct all Indian treaties, in which the general interest of the colonies may be concerned; and make peace or declare war with Indian nations.

The power of making peace or war with Indian nations is at present supposed to be in every colony, and is expressly granted to some by charter, so that no new power is hereby intended to be granted to the colonies. But as, in consequence of this power, one colony might make peace with a nation that another was justly engaged in war with; or make war on slight occasions without the concurrence or approbation of neighboring colonies, greatly endangered by it; or make particular treaties of neutrality in case of a general war, to their own private advantage in trade, by supplying the common enemy; of all which there have been instances—it was thought better, to have all treaties of a general nature under a general direction; that so the good of the whole may be consulted and provided for.

INDIAN TRADE.

That they make such laws as they judge necessary for regulating all Indian trade.

Many quarrels and wars have arisen between the colonies and Indian nations, through the bad conduct of traders

who cheat the Indians after making them drunk, &c. to the great expence of the colonies, both in blood and treasure. Particular colonies are so interested in the trade, as not to be willing to admit such a regulation as might be best for the whole; and therefore it was thought best under a general direction.

INDIAN PURCHASES,

That they make all purchases, from Indians for the crown, of lands not now within the bounds of particular colonies, or that shall not be within their bounds when some of them are reduced to more convenient dimensions.

Purchases from the Indians, made by private persons, have been attended with many inconveniences. They have frequently interfered, and occasioned uncertainty of titles, many disputes and expensive law-suits, and hindered the settlement of the land so disputed. Then the Indians have been cheated by such private purchases, and discontent and wars have been the consequence. These would be prevented by public fair purchases.

Several of the colony charters in America extend their bounds to the South Sea, which may be perhaps three or four thousand miles in length to one or two hundred miles in breadth. It is supposed they must in time be reduced to dimensions more convenient for the common purposes of government⁵.

⁵ Mr. Baron Meseares, in page 200 of his account of the Proceedings at Quebec, for obtaining an Assembly, has the following hint: "The vast enlargement of the province of Quebec by adding to it a new territory that contains, according to Lord Hillsborough's estimation of it, five hundred and eleven millions of acres (that is, more land than Spain, Italy, France, and Germany put together, and most of it good land) is a measure that would require an ample discussion."—That the reader may not suspect that these dimensions were convenient for uncommon purposes of government, the motives assigned upon this occasion by the act regulating the government of Quebec, are here quoted. "By the arrangements made by the royal proclamation, a very large extent of [outlying] country, within which there are several colonies and settlements of the subjects of France, who claimed to remain therein under the faith of the said treaty, was left without any provision being made for the administration of civil government therein:" *i. e.* a few Indian traders were a pretext for this appropriation of a tract of country, which, according to the minister's estimate, was more than thirteen times larger than England and

Very little of the land in those grants is yet purchased of the Indians.

It is much cheaper to purchase of them, than to take and maintain the possession by force: for they are generally very reasonable in their demands for land⁶; and the expence of guarding a large frontier against their incursions is vastly great; because all must be guarded, and always guarded, as we know not where or when to expect them⁷.

NEW SETTLEMENTS.

That they make new settlements on such purchases, by granting lands in the king's name, reserving a quit-rent to the crown for the use of the general treasury.

Wales united, nearly one hundred and twenty-eight times larger than Jamaica, almost one-eighth part of Europe, and considerably more than one thirty-eighth part of the whole habitable earth (comparing it with the several calculations in The Political Survey of Great Britain, by Dr. Campbell, and in that of Jamaica, by Mr. Long.) "Now *all* the inhabitants of the province of Quebec," says this very act, "amounted at the conquest to above sixty-five thousand [only,] professing the religion of the church of Rome, and enjoying an established form of constitution and system of laws."

6 "Dr. Franklin (says Mr. Kalm the Swede,) and several other gentlemen, frequently told me, that a powerful Indian, who possessed Rhode Island, had sold it to the English for a pair of spectacles: it is large enough for a prince's domain, and makes a peculiar government at present. This Indian knew how to set a true value upon a pair of spectacles: for undoubtedly if those glasses were not so plentiful, and only a few of them could be found, they would, on account of their great use, bear the same price with diamonds." See Kalm's Travels into North America, Vol. I. p. 386, 387. "At the time when the Swedes first arrived, they bought land at a very inconsiderable price. For a piece of baize, or a pot full of brandy, or the like, they could get a piece of ground, which at present would be worth more than 290*l.* sterling." *Ib.* Vol. II. p. 118.—The truth is, that the Indians considered their lands as mere *hunting manors*, and not as farms.

7 To guard against the incursions of the Indians, a plan was sent over to America, it was said by authority, suggesting the expediency of clearing away the woods and bushes from a tract of land, a mile in breadth, and extending along the back of the colonies. Unfortunately, besides the large expence of the undertaking (which, if one acre cost 2*l.* sterling, and six hundred and forty acres make a square mile, is 128,000*l.* *first cost* for every hundred miles) it was forgotten, that the Indians, like other people, knew the difference between day and night, and that a mile of advance and another of retreat were nothing to the celerity of such an enemy.—This plan, was the work of Dean Tucker; who made at least a conspicuous figure as a writer on American affairs, before and during the revolution. The plans of Dr. Franklin and Governor Pownall appear much more feasible.

It is supposed better that there should be one purchaser than many; and that the crown should be that purchaser, or the union in the name of the crown. By this means the bargains may be more easily made, the price not enhanced by numerous bidders, future disputes about private Indian purchases, and monopolies of vast tracts to particular persons (which are prejudicial to the settlement and peopling of the country) prevented; and the land being again granted in small tracts to the settlers, the quit-rents reserved may in time become a fund for support of government, for defence of the country, ease of taxes, &c.

Strong forts on the lakes, the Ohio, &c. may, at the same time they secure our present frontiers, serve to defend new colonies settled under their protection; and such colonies would also mutually defend and support such forts, and better secure the friendship of the far Indians.

A particular colony has scarce strength enough to extend itself by new settlements, at so great a distance from the old: but the joint force of the union might suddenly establish a new colony or two in those parts, or extend an old colony to particular passes, greatly to the security of our present frontiers, increase of trade and people, breaking off the French communication between Canada and Louisiana, and speedy settlement of the intermediate lands.

The power of settling new colonies is therefore thought a valuable part of the plan, and what cannot so well be executed by two unions as by one.

LAWS TO GOVERN THEM.

That they make laws for regulating and governing such new settlements, till the crown shall think fit to form them into particular governments.

The making of laws suitable for the new colonies, it was thought, would be properly vested in the president general and grand council; under whose protection they must at first necessarily be, and who would be well acquainted with their circumstances, as having settled them. When they are be-

come sufficiently populous, they may by the crown be formed into complete and distinct governments.

The appointment of a sub-president by the crown, to take place in case of the death or absence of the president general, would perhaps be an improvement of the plan; and if all the governors of particular provinces were to be formed into a standing council of state, for the advice and assistance of the president general, it might be another considerable improvement.

RAISE SOLDIERS, AND EQUIP VESSELS, &c.

That they raise and pay soldiers and build forts for the defence of any of the colonies, and equip vessels of force to guard the coasts and protect the trade on the ocean, lakes, or great rivers; but they shall not impress men in any colony, without the consent of the legislature.

It was thought, that quotas of men, to be raised and paid by the several colonies, and joined for any public service, could not always be got together with the necessary expedition. For instance, suppose one thousand men should be wanted in New Hampshire on any emergency; to fetch them by fifties and hundreds out of every colony, as far as South Carolina, would be inconvenient, the transportation chargeable, and the occasion perhaps passed before they could be assembled; and therefore that it would be best to raise them (by offering bounty-money and pay) near the place where they would be wanted, to be discharged again when the service should be over.

Particular colonies are at present backward to build forts at their own expence, which they say will be equally useful to their neighboring colonies; who refuse to join, on a presumption that such forts *will* be built and kept up, though they contribute nothing. This unjust conduct weakens the whole; but the forts being for the good of the whole, it was thought best they should be built and maintained by the whole, out of the common treasury.

8 "According to a plan which had been proposed by Governor Pownall, and approved of by congress."—Administration of the Colonies, vol. II. p. 148.

In the time of war, small vessels of force are sometimes necessary in the colonies to scour the coast of small privateers. These being provided by the union will be an advantage in turn to the colonies which are situated on the sea, and whose frontiers on the land-side, being covered by other colonies, reap but little immediate benefit from the advanced forts.

POWER TO MAKE LAWS, LAY DUTIES, &c.

That for these purposes they have power to make laws, and lay and levy such general duties, imports, or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just (considering the ability and other circumstances of the inhabitants in the several colonies), and such as may be collected with the least inconvenience to the people; rather discouraging luxury, than loading industry with unnecessary burthens.

The laws which the president general and grand council are impowered to make *are such only* as shall be necessary for the government of the settlements; the raising, regulating, and paying soldiers for the general service; the regulating of Indian trade; and laying and collecting the general duties and taxes. (They should also have a power to restrain the exportation of provisions to the enemy from any of the colonies, on particular occasions, in time of war.) But is it not intended that they may interfere with the constitution and government of the particular colonies; who are to be left to their own laws, and to lay, levy, and apply their own taxes as before.

GENERAL TREASURER AND PARTICULAR TREASURER.

That they may appoint a general treasurer and particular treasurer in each government, when necessary; and from time to time may order the sums in the treasuries of each government into the general treasury; or draw on them for special payments, as they find most convenient.

The treasurers here meant are only for the general funds, and not for the particular funds of each colony, which re-

main in the hands of their own treasurers at their own disposal.

MONEY HOW TO ISSUE.

Yet no money to issue but by joint orders of the president general and grand council: except where sums have been appropriated to particular purposes, and the president general is previously empowered by an act to draw such sums.

To prevent misapplication of the money, or even application that might be dissatisfactory to the crown or the people, it was thought necessary, to join the president general and grand council in all issues of money.

ACCOUNTS.

That the general accounts shall be yearly settled and reported to the several assemblies.

By communicating the accounts yearly to each assembly, they will be satisfied of the prudent and honest conduct of their representatives in the grand council.

QUORUM.

That a quorum of the grand council, empowered to act with the president general, do consist of twenty-five members; among whom there shall be one or more from a majority of the colonies.

The quorum seems large, but it was thought it would not be satisfactory to the colonies in general, to have matters of importance to the whole transacted by a smaller number, or even by this number of twenty-five, unless there were among them one at least from a majority of the colonies; because otherwise, the whole quorum being made up of members from three or four colonies at one end of the union, something might be done that would not be equal with respect to the rest, and thence dissatisfaction and discords might rise to the prejudice of the whole.

LAWS TO BE TRANSMITTED.

That the laws made by them for the purposes aforesaid shall not be repugnant, but, as near as may be, agreeable to

the laws of England, and shall be transmitted to the king in council for approbation, as soon as may be after their passing ; and if not disapproved within three years after presentation, to remain in force.

This was thought necessary for the satisfaction of the crown, to preserve the connection of the parts of the British empire with the whole, of the members with the head, and to induce greater care and circumspection in making of the laws, that they be good in themselves and for the general benefit.

DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT GENERAL.

That in case of the death of the president general, the speaker of the grand council for the time being shall succeed, and be vested with the same powers and authorities, to continue till the king's pleasure be known.

It might be better, perhaps, as was said before, if the crown appointed a vice-president, to take place on the death or absence of the president general; for so we should be more sure of a suitable person at the head of the colonies. On the death or absence of both, the speaker to take place (or rather the eldest king's-governor) till his majesty's pleasure be known.

OFFICERS HOW APPOINTED.

That all military commission officers, whether for land or sea service, to act under this general constitution, shall be nominated by the president general; but the approbation of the grand council is to be obtained, before they receive their commissions. And all civil officers, are to be nominated by the grand council, and to receive the president general's approbation before they officiate.

It was thought it might be very prejudicial to the service, to have officers appointed unknown to the people, or unacceptable, the generality of Americans serving willingly under officers they know: and not caring to engage in the service under strangers, or such as are often appointed by governors through favor or interest. The service here meant, is not the stated settled service in standing troops; but any

sudden and short service, either for defence of our colonies, or invading the enemies country; (such as, the expedition to Cape Breton in the last war; in which many substantial farmers and tradesmen engaged as common soldiers, under officers of their own country, for whom they had an esteem and affection; who would not have engaged in a standing army, or under officers from England.)—It was therefore thought best, to give the council the power of approving the officers, which the people will look upon as a great security of their being good men. And without some such provision as this, it was thought the expence of engaging men in the service on any emergency would be much greater, and the number who could be induced to engage much less; and that therefore it would be most for the king's service and general benefit of the nation, that the prerogative should relax a little in this particular throughout all the colonies in America; as it had already done much more in the charters of some particular colonies, viz. Connecticut and Rhode Island.

The civil officers will be chiefly treasurers and collectors of taxes; and the suitable persons are most likely to be known by the council.

VACANCIES HOW SUPPLIED.

But in case of vacancy by death, or removal of any officer civil or military under this constitution, the governor of the province in which such vacancy happens may appoint, till the pleasure of the president general and grand council can be known.

The vacancies were thought best supplied by the governors in each province, till a new appointment can be regularly made; otherwise the service might suffer before the meeting of the president general and grand council.

EACH COLONY MAY DEFEND ITSELF ON EMERGENCY, &c.

That the particular military as well as civil establishments in each colony remain in their present state, the general constitution notwithstanding; and that on sudden emergencies

any colony may defend itself, and lay the accounts of expence thence arising before the president general and general council, who may allow and order payment of the same, as far as they judge such accounts just and reasonable.

Otherwise the union of the whole would weaken the parts, contrary to the design of the union. The accounts are to be judged of by the president general and grand council, and allowed if found reasonable : this was thought necessary to encourage colonies to defend themselves, as the expence would be light when borne by the whole ; and also to check imprudent and lavish expence in such defences.⁹

ALBANY PAPERS.

CONTINUED.

I. LETTER to Governor Shirley, concerning the Imposition of direct Taxes upon the Colonies, without their Consent.¹

Tuesday Morning.

SIR,

I RETURN you the loose Sheets of the plan, with thanks to your excellency for communicating them.

⁹ This plan of union, it will appear from the next page, was rejected ; and another proposed to be substituted by the English minister, which had for its chief object, the taking power from the *people* in the colonies, in order to give it to the *crown*.

¹ These letters to Governor Shirley first appeared in the *London Chronicle* for Feb. 6—8, 1766, with an introduction signed *A Lover of Britain*. In the beginning of the year 1776, they were republished in *Almon's Remembrancer*, with an additional prefatory piece, under the signature of *A Mourner over our Calamities*—I shall explain the subject of them in the words of one of these writers. “ The Albany Plan of Union was sent to the government here for approbation : had it been approved and established by the authority from hence, English America thought itself sufficiently able to cope with the French, without other assistance ; several of the colonies having alone, in former wars, withstood the whole power of the enemy, unassisted not only by the mother-country, but by any of the neighboring provinces.—The plan, however, was not approved here ; but a *New one* was formed instead of it ; by which it was proposed, that ‘ the governors of all the colonies, attended by one or two members of their respective councils, should assemble, and concert measures for the defence of the whole, erect forts where they judged proper, and raise what troops they thought necessary, with power to draw on the treasury here

I apprehend, that excluding the people of the colonies from all share in the choice of the grand council will give extreme dissatisfaction; as well as the taxing them by act of parliament, where they have no representation. It is very possible, that this general government might be as well and faithfully administered without the people, as with them; but where heavy burdens are to be laid upon them, it has been found useful, to make it as much as possible their own act; for they bear better, when they have, or think they have, some share in the direction; and when any public measures are generally grievous, or even distasteful, to the people, the wheels of government move more heavily.

II LETTER to the same; concerning direct Taxes in the Colonies imposed without consent, indirect Taxes, and the Albany Plan of Union.

Wednesday Morning.

SIR,

I MENTIONED it yesterday to your excellency as my opinion, that excluding the people of the colonies from all share in the choice of the grand council would probably give

for the sums that should be wanted, and the treasury to be reimbursed by a *tax laid on the colonies by act of parliament*,"—This *New plan* being communicated by Governor Shirley to a gentleman of Philadelphia (Dr. Franklin) then in Boston (who hath very eminently distinguished himself, before and since that time, in the literary world, and whose judgment, penetration, and candor, as well as his readiness and ability to suggest, forward, or carry into execution, every scheme of public utility, hath most deservedly endeared him, not only to our fellow-subjects throughout the continent of North America, but to his numberless friends on this side the Atlantic) occasioned the following remarks from him, which perhaps may contribute in some degree to its being laid aside. As they very particularly show the then sentiments of the Americans on the subject of a parliamentary tax, before the French power in that country was subjected, and before the late restraints on their commerce; they satisfy me, and I hope they will convince your readers (contrary to what has been advanced by some of your correspondents) that those particulars have had no share in producing the present opposition to such a tax, nor in disturbances occasioned by it, which these papers indeed do almost prophetically foretel. For this purpose, having accidentally fallen into my hands, they are communicated to you by one who is, not *partially*, but in the *most enlarged sense*.

"A LOVER OF BRITAIN."

extreme dissatisfaction, as well as the taxing them by act of parliament, where they have no representation. In matters of general concern to the people, and especially where burdens are to be laid upon them ; it is of use to consider, as well what they will be apt to think and say, as what they ought to think : I shall therefore, as your excellency requires it of me, briefly mention what of either kind occurs to me on this occasion.

First, they will say, and perhaps with justice, that the body of the people in the colonies are as loyal, and as firmly attached to the present constitution, and reigning family, as any subjects in the king's dominions.

That there is no reason to doubt the readiness and willingness of the representatives they may choose, to grant from time to time such supplies for the defence of the country, as shall be judged necessary, so far as their abilities will allow.

That the people in the colonies, who are to feel the immediate mischiefs of invasion and conquest by an enemy, in the loss of their estates, lives, and liberties, are likely to be better judges of the quantity of forces necessary to be raised and maintained, forts to be built and supported, and of their own abilities to bear the expence than the parliament of England, at so great a distance.

That governors often come to the colonies merely to make fortunes, with which they intend to return to Britain ; are not always men of the best abilities or integrity ; have many of them no estates here, nor any natural connections with us, that should make them heartily concerned for our welfare ; and might possibly be fond of raising and keeping up more forces than necessary, from the profits accruing to themselves, and to make provision for their friends and dependents.

That the counsellors in most of the colonies, being appointed by the crown, on the recommendation of governors, are often persons of small estates, frequently dependent on the governors for offices, and therefore too much under influence.

That there is therefore great reason to be jealous of a power, in such governors and councils, to raise such sums as they shall judge necessary, by drafts on the lords of the treasury, to be afterwards laid on the colonies by act of parliament, and paid by the people here; since they might abuse it, by projecting useless expeditions, harassing the people, and taking them from their labor to execute such projects, merely to create offices and employments, and gratify their dependents, and divide profits.

That the parliament of England is at a great distance, subject to be misinformed and misled by such governors and councils, whose united interests might probably secure them against the effect of any complaint from hence.

That it is supposed an undoubted right of Englishmen, not to be taxed but by their own consent, given through their representatives :

That the colonies have no representatives in parliament.

That to propose taxing them by parliament, and refuse them the liberty of choosing a representative council, to meet the colonies, and consider and judge of the necessity of any general tax, and the quantum, shows a suspicion of their loyalty to the crown, or of their regard for their country, or of their common sense and understanding; which they have not deserved.

That compelling the colonies to pay money without their consent, would be rather like raising contributions in an enemy's country, than taxing of Englishmen for their own public benefit.

That it would be treating them as a conquered people, and not as true British subjects.

That a tax laid by the representatives of the colonies might be easily lessened as the occasions should lessen; but being once laid by parliament under the influence of the representations made by governors, would probably be kept up, and continued, for the benefit of governors; to the grievous burthen and discontentment of the colonies, and prevention of their growth and increase.

That a power in governors, to march the inhabitants from one end of the British and French colonies to the other, being a country of at least one thousand five hundred miles long, without the approbation or the consent of their representatives first obtained to such expeditions, might be grievous and ruinous to the people, and would put them upon a footing with the subjects of France in Canada, that now groan under such oppression from their governor, who for two years past has harassed them with long and destructive marches to Ohio.

That if the colonies in a body may be well governed by governors and councils appointed by the crown, without representatives ; particular colonies may as well, or better be so governed ; a tax may be laid upon them all by act of parliament for support of government ; and their assemblies may be dismissed as an useless part of the constitution.

That the powers proposed by the Albany plan of union, to be vested in a grand council representative of the people ; even with regard to military matters, are not so great, as those which the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut are entrusted with by their charters, and have never abused ; for by this plan, the president general is appointed by the crown, and controls all by his negative ; but in those governments, the people choose the governor, and yet allow him no negative.

That the British colonies bordering on the French are properly frontiers of the British empire ; and the frontiers of an empire are properly defended at the joint expence of the body of the people in such empire :—it would now be thought hard by act of parliament to oblige the Cinque Ports or sea coasts of Britain, to maintain the whole navy, because they are more immediately defended by it, not allowing them at the same time a vote in choosing members of the parliament ; and, as the frontiers of America bear the expence of their own defence, it seems hard to allow them no share in voting the money, judging of the necessity and sum, or advising the measures.

That besides the taxes necessary for the defence of the frontiers, the colonies pay yearly great sums to the mother country unnoticed:—for 1. Taxes paid in Britain by the landholder or artificer must enter into and increase the price of the produce of land and manufactures made of it; and great part of this is paid by consumers in the colonies, who thereby pay a considerable part of the British taxes.

2. We are restrained in our trade with foreign nations; and where we could be supplied with any manufacture cheaper from them, but must buy the same dearer from Britain, the difference of price is a clear tax to Britain.

3. We are obliged to carry a great part of our produce directly to Britain; and where the duties laid upon it lessen its price to the planter, or it sells for less than it would in foreign markets, the difference is a tax paid to Britain.

4. Some manufactures we could make, but are forbidden, and must take them of British merchants: the whole price is a tax paid to Britain.

5. By our greatly encreasing the demand and consumption of British manufactures, their price is considerably raised of late years; the advantage is clear profit to Britain, and enables its people better to pay great taxes; and much of it being paid by us, is clear tax to Britain.

6. In short, as we are not suffered to regulate our trade, and restrain the importation and consumption of British superfluities (as Britain can the consumption of foreign superfluities) our whole wealth centers finally amongst the merchants and inhabitants of Britain; and if we make them richer, and enable them better to pay their taxes, it is nearly the same as being taxed ourselves, and equally beneficial to the crown.

These kind of secondary taxes, however, we do not complain of, though we have no share in the laying or disposing of them: but to pay immediate heavy taxes, in the laying, appropriation, and disposition of which, we have no part, and which perhaps we may know to be as unnecessary as grievous, must seem hard measures to Englishmen, who cannot conceive, that by hazardjng their lives and fortunes

in subduing and settling new countries, extending the dominion, and increasing the commerce of the mother nation, they have forfeited the native rights of Britons; which they think ought rather to be given to them, as due to such merit, if they had been before in a state of slavery.....

These, and such kinds of things as these, I apprehend, will be thought and said by the people, if the proposed alteration of the Albany plan should take place. Then the administration of the board of governors and council so appointed, not having the representative body of the people to approve and unite in its measures, and conciliate the minds of the people to them, will probably become suspected and odious; dangerous animosities and feuds will arise between the governors and governed; and every thing go into confusion.

Perhaps I am too apprehensive in this matter; but having freely given my opinion and reasons, your excellency can judge better than I, whether there be any weight in them, and the shortness of the time allowed me will I hope in some degree excuse the imperfections of this scrawl.

With the greatest respect and fidelity, I have the honor to be

Your excellency's most obedient,
and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

III. LETTER to the same, on the Subject of uniting the Colonies more intimately with Great Britain, by allowing them Representatives in Parliament.

Boston, Dec. 22, 1754.

SIR,

SINCE the conversation your excellency was pleased to honor me with, on the subject of *uniting the colonies* more intimately with Great Britain, by allowing them *representatives in parliament*, I have something further considered that matter, and am of opinion, that such an union would be very acceptable to the colonies, provided

they had a reasonable number of representatives allowed them; and that all the old acts of parliament restraining the trade or cramping the manufactures of the colonies be at the same time repealed, and the British subjects *on this side the water* put, in those respects, on the same footing with those in Great Britain, till the new parliament, representing the whole, shall think it for the interest of the whole, to re-enact some or all of them: it is not that I imagine so many representatives will be allowed the colonies, as to have any great weight by their numbers; but I think there might be sufficient to occasion those laws to be better and more impartially considered, and perhaps to overcome the interest of a petty corporation, or of any particular set of artificers or traders in England, who heretofore seem, in some instances, to have been more regarded than all the colonies, or than was consistent with the general interest, or best natural good. I think too, that the government of the colonies by a parliament, in which they are fairly represented, would be vastly more agreeable to the people, than the method lately attempted to be introduced by royal instruction; as well as more agreeable to the nature of an English constitution, and to English liberty; and that such laws, as now seem to bear hard on the colonies, would (when judged by such a parliament for the best interest of the whole) be more cheerfully submitted to, and more easily executed.

I should hope too, that by such an union, the people of Great Britain, and the people of the colonies, would learn to consider themselves, as not belonging to different communities with different interests, but to one community with one interest; which I imagine would contribute to strengthen the whole, and greatly lessen the danger of future separations.

It is, I suppose, agreed to be the general interest of any state, that its people be numerous and rich; men enow to fight in its defence, and enow to pay sufficient taxes to defray the charge; for these circumstances tend to the security of the state, and its protection from foreign power. But it

seems not of so much importance, whether the fighting be done by John or Thomas, or the tax paid by William or Charles. The iron manufacture employs and enriches British subjects, but is it of any importance to the state, whether the manufacturer lives at Birmingham or Sheffield, or both; since they are still within its bounds, and their wealth and persons still at its command? Could the Goodwin Sands be laid dry by banks, and land equal to a large county thereby gained to England, and presently filled with English inhabitants, would it be right to deprive such inhabitants of the common privileges enjoyed by other Englishmen, the right of vending their produce in the same ports, or of making their own shoes; because a merchant or a shoemaker, living on the old land, might fancy it more for his advantage to trade or make shoes for them? Would this be right, even if the land were gained at the expence of the state? And would it not seem less right, if the charge and labor of gaining the additional territory to Britain had been borne by the settlers themselves? And would not the hardship appear yet greater, if the people of the new country should be allowed no representatives in the parliament enacting such impositions? Now I look on the colonies as so many countries gained to Great Britain, and more advantageous to it, than if they had been gained out of the seas around its coasts, and joined to its lands; for being in different climates, they afford greater variety of produce, and materials for more manufactures; and being separated by the ocean, they increase much more its shipping and seamen: and, since they are all included in the British empire, which has only extended itself by their means; and the strength and wealth of the parts is the strength and wealth of the whole; what imports it to the general state, whether a merchant, a smith, or a hatter, grows rich in Old or New England? and if, through increase of the people, two smiths are wanted for one employed before, why may not the *new* smith be allowed to live and thrive in the *new* country, as well as the *old* one in the *old*? In fine, why should the countenance of a state be

partially afforded to its people, unless it be most in favor of those who have most merit? And if there be any difference; those who have most contributed to enlarge Britain's empire and commerce, increase her strength, her wealth, and the numbers of her people, at the risque of their own lives and private fortunes in new and strange countries, methinks ought rather to expect some preference. With the greatest respect and esteem, I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obedient

And humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Plan for settling two Western Colonies in North America, with Reasons for the Plan, 1754^s.

THE great country back of the Apalachian mountains, on both sides the Ohio, and between that river and the lakes is now well known, both to the English and French, to be

8 For the occasion which produced this plan; see what follows. It was given to governor Pownall, 1754, for the purpose of being inserted in his memorial; but this point of anecdote cannot be sufficiently ascertained.

"Extract of a Memorial drawn up by order of, and presented to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, 1756, by T. Pownall.

"In other parts of our frontier, that are not the immediate residence and country of Indians, some other species of barrier should be thought of, for which nothing can be more effectual than a barrier colony: but even this cannot be carried into execution and effect, without the previous measure of *entrepôts* in the country between us and the enemy All mankind must know, that no body of men, whether as an army, or as an emigration of colonists, can march from one country to another through an inhospitable wilderness, without magazines; nor with any safety, without posts communicating among each other by practicable roads, to which to retire in case of accidents, repulse, or delay.

"It is a fact, which experience evinces the truth of, that we have always been able to outsettle the French; and have driven the Indians out of the country more by settling than fighting; and that whenever our settlements have been wisely and completely made, the French, neither by themselves nor their dogs of war, the Indians, have been able to remove us. It is upon this fact I found the propriety of the measure of settling a barrier colony in those parts of our frontiers, *which are not the immediate residence or hunting-grounds of our Indians*. This is a measure that will be effectual; and will not only in time pay its expence, but make as great returns as any of our present colonies do; will give strength and unity to our dominions in North America; and give us possession of our country, as well as settlement in it. But above all this, the

one of the finest in North America, for the extreme richness and fertility of the land ; the healthy temperature of the air, and mildness of the climate ; the plenty of hunting, fishing, and fowling ; the facility of trade with the Indians ; and the vast convenience of inland navigation or water-carriage by the lakes and great rivers, many hundred of leagues around.

From these natural advantages it must undoubtedly (perhaps in less than another century) become a populous and powerful dominion ; and a great accession of power, either to England or France.

The French are now making open encroachments on these territories, in defiance of our known rights ; and, if we longer delay to settle that country, and suffer them to possess it,—these *inconveniences and mischiefs* will probably follow :

state and circumstances of our settlements render such a measure not only proper and eligible, but absolutely necessary. The English settlements, as they are at present circumstanced, are absolutely at a stand ; they are settled up to the mountains ; and in the mountains there is no where together land sufficient for a settlement large enough to subsist by itself, and to defend itself, and preserve a communication with the present settlements.

“ If the English would advance one step further, or cover themselves where they are, it must be at once, by one large step over the mountains, with a numerous and military colony. Where such should be settled, I do not take upon me to say ; at present I shall only point out the measure and the nature of it, by inserting two schemes, one of Dr. Franklin’s, the other of your memorialist ; and if I might indulge myself with scheming, I should imagine that two such were sufficient, and only requisite and proper : one at the back of Virginia, filling up the vacant space between the five nations and southern confederacy, and connecting into our system, our barrier ; the other somewhere in the Cohass or Connecticut river, or wherever best adapted to cover the New England colonies. These, with the little settlements mentioned above in the Indian countries, complete my idea of this branch.” See Governor Pownall’s Administration of the Colonies. Vol. II. p. 228—231, 5th edition.

The reader must carry along with him a distinction between the plans of Dr. Franklin and governor Pownall here referred to. The first (which is before him) is particular, and proposes a plan for *two* settlements in the unlocated lands to the westward of Pennsylvania and the Virginian mountains, and is totally silent with respect to a settlement in New England : the other treats of the mode of settling new colonies in North America in general, leaving the precise situation to be in some measure pointed out by the foregoing extract.

The copy from which this paper was originally printed, had appearances of being rather incorrectly taken from the original, it is here compared with Dr. Franklin’s own copy.

1. Our people, being confined to the country between the sea and the mountains, cannot much more increase in number; people increasing in proportion to their room and means of subsistence. (See the Observations on the Increase of Mankind, &c. Vol. II.)

2. The French will increase much more, by that acquired room and plenty of subsistence, and become a great people behind us.

3. Many of our debtors, and loose English people, our German servants, and slaves, will probably desert to them, and increase their numbers and strength, to the lessening and weakening of ours.

4. They will cut us off from all commerce and alliance with the western Indians, to the great prejudice of Britain, by preventing the sale and consumption of its manufactures.

5. They will both in time of peace and war (as they have always done against New England) set the Indians on to harass our frontiers, kill and scalp our people, and drive in the advanced settlers; and so, in preventing our obtaining more subsistence by cultivating of new lands, they discourage our marriages, and to keep our people from increasing; thus (if the expression may be allowed) killing thousands of our children before they are born.....

If two strong colonies of English were settled between the Ohio and lake Erie, in the places hereafter to be mentioned,—these advantages might be expected:

1. They would be a great security to the frontiers of our other colonies; by preventing the incursions of the French and French Indians of Canada, on the back parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas; and the frontiers of such new colonies would be much more easily defended, than those of the colonies last mentioned now can be, as will appear hereafter.

2. The dreaded junction of the French settlements in Canada with those of Louisiana would be prevented.

3. In case of a war, it would be easy, from those new colonies, to annoy Louisiana, by going down the Ohio and

Mississippi; and the southern part of Canada, by sailing over the lakes; and thereby confine the French within narrower limits.

4. We should secure the friendship and trade of the Miamis or Twigtwees (a numerous people consisting of many tribes, inhabiting the country between the west end of lake Erie, and the south end of lake Huron, and the Ohio) who are at present dissatisfied with the French, and fond of the English, and would gladly encourage and protect an infant English settlement in or near their country, as some of their chiefs have declared to the writer of this memoir. Further, by means of the lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, our trade might be extended through a vast country, among many numerous and distant nations, greatly to the benefit of Britain.

5. The settlement of all the intermediate lands, between the present frontiers of our colonies on one side, and the lakes and Mississippi on the other, would be facilitated and speedily executed, to the great increase of Englishmen, English trade, and English power.

The grants to most of the colonies are of long narrow slips of land, extending west from the Atlantic to the South Sea. They are much too long for their breadth; the extremes at too great a distance; and therefore unfit to be continued under their present dimensions.

Several of the old colonies may conveniently be limited westward by the Allegheny or Apalachian mountains; and new colonies formed west of those mountains.

A single old colony does not seem strong enough to extend itself otherwise than inch by inch: it cannot venture a settlement far distant from the main body, being unable to support it: but if the colonies were united under one governor-general and grand council, agreeable to the Albany plan, they might easily, by their joint force, establish one or more new colonies, whenever they should judge it necessary or advantageous to the interest of the whole.

But if such union should not take place, it is proposed that two charters be granted, *each* for some considerable

part of the lands west of Pennsylvania and the Virginian mountains, to a number of the nobility and gentry of Britain; with such Americans as shall join them in contributing to the settlement of those lands, either by paying a proportion of the expence of making such settlements, or by actually going thither in person, and settling themselves and families.

That by such charters it be granted, that every actual settler be intitled to a tract of acres for himself, and acres for every poll in the family he carries with him; and that every contributor of guineas be intitled to a quantity of acres, equal to the share of a single settler, for every such sum of guineas contributed and paid to the colony treasurer; a contributor for shares to have an additional share *gratis*; that settlers may likewise be contributors, and have right of land in both capacities.

That as many and as great privileges and powers of government be granted to the contributors and settlers, as his majesty in his wisdom shall think most fit for their benefit and encouragement, consistent with the general good of the British empire; for extraordinary privileges and liberties, with lands on easy terms, are strong inducements to people to hazard their persons and fortunes in settling new countries: and such powers of government as (though suitable to the circumstances, and fit to be trusted with an infant colony) might be judged unfit, when it becomes populous and powerful; these might be granted for a term only; as the choice of their own governor for ninety-nine years; the support of government in the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island (which *now* enjoy that and other like privileges) being much less expensive, than in the colonies under the immediate government of the crown, and the constitution more inviting.

That the first contributors to the amount of guineas be empowered to choose a treasurer to receive the contribution.

That no contributions be paid till the sum of thousand guineas be subscribed.

That the money thus raised be applied to the purchase of the lands from the Six Nations and other Indians, and of provisions, stores, arms, ammunition, carriages, &c. for the settlers; who, after having entered their names with the treasurer, or person by him appointed to receive and enter them, are, upon public notice given for that purpose, to rendezvous at a place to be appointed, and march in a body to the place destined for their settlement, under the charge of the government to be established over them. Such rendezvous and march however not to be directed, till the number of names of settlers entered, capable of bearing arms, amount at least to thousand.....

It is apprehended, that a great sum of money might be raised in America on such a scheme as this; for there are many who would be glad of any opportunity, by advancing a small sum at present, to secure land for their children, which might in a few years become very valuable; and a great number it is thought of actual settlers might likewise be engaged (some from each of our present colonies) sufficient to carry it into full execution by their strength and numbers; provided only, that the crown would be at the expence of removing the little forts the French have erected in their incroachments on his majesty's territories, and supporting a strong one near the falls of Niagara, with a few small armed vessels, or half-galleys to cruize on the lakes.

For the security of this colony in its infancy, a small fort might be erected and for some time maintained at Buffalo-creek on the Ohio, above the settlement; and another at the mouth of the Tioga, on the south side of lake Erie, where a port should be formed, and a town erected, for the trade of the lakes.—The colonists for *this settlement* might march by land through Pennsylvania.....

The river Sciota, which runs into the Ohio about two hundred miles below Logs Town, is supposed the fittest seat for the *other colony*; there being for forty miles on each side of it, and quite up to its heads, a body of all-rich land; the finest spot of its bigness in all North America, and has the particular advantage of sea-coal in plenty (even

above ground in two places) for fuel, when the woods shall be destroyed. This colony would have the trade of the Miamis or Twigtwees; and should, at first, have a small fort near Hockockin, at the head of the river; and another near the mouth of Wabash. Sanduski, a French fort near the lake Erie, should also be taken; and all the little French forts south and west of the lakes, quite to the Mississippi, be removed, or taken and garrisoned by the English.—The colonists for this settlement might assemble near the heads of the rivers in Virginia, and march over land to the navigable branches of the Kanhawa, where they might embark with all their baggage and provisions, and fall into the Ohio, not far above the mouth of Sciota. Or they might rendezvous at Will's Creek, and go down the Monongahela to the Ohio.

The fort and armed vessels at the strait of Niagara would be a vast security to the frontiers of these new colonies against any attempts of the French from Canada. The fort at the mouth of the Wabash would guard that river, the Ohio, and Cutava river, in case any attempt from the French of Mississippi. (Every fort should have a small settlement round it; as the fort would protect the settlers, and the settlers defend the fort and supply it with provisions.).....

The difficulty of settling the first English colonies in America, at so great a distance from England, must have been vastly greater, than the settling these proposed new colonies: for it would be the interest and advantage of all the present colonies to support these new ones; as they would cover their frontiers, and prevent the growth of the French power behind or near their present settlements; and the new country is nearly at equal distance from all the old colonies, and could easily be assisted from all of them.

And as there are already in all the old colonies many thousands of families that are ready to swarm, wanting more land; the richness and natural advantage of the Ohio country would draw most of them thither, were there but a tolerable prospect of a safe settlement. So that the new

colonies would soon be full of people; and from the advantage of their situation, become much more terrible to the French settlements, than those are now to us. The gaining of the back Indian trade from the French, by the navigation of the lakes, &c. would of itself greatly weaken our enemies:—it being now their principal support, it seems highly probable, that in time they must be subjected to the British crown, or driven out of the country.

Such settlements may better be made now, than fifty years hence, because it is easier to settle ourselves, and thereby prevent the French settling there, as they seem now to intend, than to remove them when strongly settled.

If these settlements are postponed, then more forts and stronger, and more numerous and expensive garrisons must be established, to secure the country, prevent their settling, and secure our present frontiers; the charge of which may probably exceed the charge of the proposed settlements, and the advantage nothing near so great.

The fort at Oswego should likewise be strengthened, and some armed half-gallies, or other small vessels, kept there to cruise on lake Ontario, as proposed by Mr. Pownall in his paper laid before the commissioners at the Albany treaty.

If a fort was also built at Tirondequat on lake Ontario, and a settlement made there near the lake side, where the lands are said to be good, (much better than at Oswego;) the people of such settlements would help to defend both forts on any emergency.

THE CANADA PAMPHLET.

The Interest of Great Britain considered, with Regard to her Colonies, and the Acquisitions of Canada and Guadaloupe³.

I HAVE perused with no small pleasure the "*Letter addressed to Two Great men*," and the *Remarks* on that letter. It is not merely from the beauty, the force and perspicuity of expression, or the general elegance of manner conspicuous in both pamphlets, that my pleasure chiefly arises; it is rather from this, that I have lived to see subjects of the greatest importance to this nation publicly discussed without party views, or party heat, with decency and politeness, and with no other warmth, than what a zeal for the honor and happiness of our king and country may inspire; and this by writers, whose understanding (however they may differ from each other) appears not unequal to their candor and the uprightness of their intention.

But, as great abilities have not always the best information, there are, I apprehend, in the *Remarks*, some opinions not well founded, and some mistakes of so important a nature, as to render a few observations on them necessary for the better information of the public.

³ In the year 1760, upon the prospect of a peace with France, the late Earl of Bath addressed a Letter to Two Great Men (Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle) on the terms necessary to be insisted upon in the negotiation. He preferred the acquisition of Canada, to acquisitions in the West Indies. In the same year there appeared *Remarks* on the letter addressed to two great men, containing opposite opinions on this and other subjects. At this moment a philosopher stepped into the controversy, and wrote a pamphlet entitled, "*The Interest of Great Britain considered, with Regard to her Colonies*," &c. The arguments he used, appear to have carried weight with them at the Courts of London and Paris, for Canada was kept by the peace.

The above piece (which first appeared before the public in the shape of a pamphlet, printed for Becket, 1761,) has none of the eight subdivisions it is now thrown into, marked out by the author. He conceived however that they might be useful, and afterwards made that arrangement.

In the original, the author has added his observations concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, &c. [printed in a subsequent part of this volume] and introduced it with the following note. "In confirmation of the writer's opinion concerning population, manufactures, &c. he has thought it not amiss to add an extract from a piece written some years since in America, where the facts must be well known, on which the reasonings are founded. It is entitled, *Observations*, &c."

With respect to the arguments used by the authors of the *Letter*, and of the *Remarks*, it is useless to repeat them here. As far as they are necessary for the understanding of Dr. Franklin, they are to be collected from his own work.

The author of the Letter, who must be every way best able to support his own sentiments, will, I hope, excuse me, if I seem officiously to interfere ; when he considers, that the spirit of patriotism, like other qualities good and bad, is catching ; and that his long silence since the Remarks appeared, has made us despair of seeing the subject farther discussed by his masterly hand. The ingenious and candid remarker, too, who must have been misled himself before he employed his skill and address to mislead others, will certainly, since he declares he *aims at no seduction*, be disposed to excuse even the weakest effort to prevent it.

And surely, if the general opinions that possess the minds of the people may possibly be of consequence in public affairs, it must be fit to set those opinions right. If there is danger, as the remarker supposes, that “extravagant expectations” may embarrass “a virtuous and able ministry,” and “render the negotiation for peace a work of infinite difficulty⁴ ;” there is no less danger that expectations too low, through want of proper information, may have a contrary effect, may make even a virtuous and able ministry less anxious, and less attentive to the obtaining points, in which the honor and interest of the nation are essentially concerned ; and the people less hearty in supporting such a ministry and its measures.

The people of this nation are indeed respectable, not for their numbers only, but for their understanding and their public spirit : they manifest the first, by their universal approbation of the late prudent and vigorous measures, and the confidence they so justly repose in a wise and good prince, and an honest and able administration ; the latter they have demonstrated by the immense supplies granted in parliament unanimously, and paid through the whole kingdom with cheerfulness. And since to this spirit and these supplies our “victories and successes” have in great measure been owing ; is it quite right, is it generous to say, with the remarker, that the people “had no share in ac-

⁴ Remarks, p. 6.

⁵ Ibid. p. 7.

quiring them?" The mere mob he cannot mean, even where he speaks of the madness of the people; for the madness of the mob must be too feeble and impotent, armed as the government of this country at present is, to "over-rule⁶," even in the slightest instances, the virtue "and moderation" of a firm and steady ministry.

While the war continues, its final event is quite uncertain. The victorious of this year may be the vanquished of the next. It may therefore be too early to say, what advantages we ought absolutely to insist on, and make the *sine quibus non* of a peace. If the necessity of our affairs should oblige us to accept of terms less advantageous than our present successes seem to promise us; an intelligent people, as ours is, must see that necessity, and will acquiesce. But as a peace, when it is made, may be made hastily; and as the unhappy continuance of the war affords us time to consider, among several advantages gained or to be gained, which of them may be most for our interest to retain, if some and not all may possibly be retained; I do not blame the public disquisition of these points, as permature or useless. Light often arises from a collision of opinions, as fire from flint and steel; and if we can obtain the benefit of the *light*, without danger from the *heat* sometimes produced by controversy, why should we discourage it?

Supposing then, that heaven may still continue to bless his majesty's arms, and that the event of this just war may put it in our power to retain some of our conquests at the making of a peace; let us consider,

1. *The security of a dominion, a justifiable and prudent ground upon which to demand cessions from an enemy.*

Whether we are to confine ourselves to those possessions only that were "the objects for which we began the war". This the remarker seems to think right, when the question relates to "*Canada, properly so called*;" it having never

⁶ Remarks, p. 7.

⁷ Ibid. p. 19.

been mentioned as one of those objects, in any of our memorials or declarations, or in any national or public act whatsoever." But the gentleman himself will probably agree, that if the cession of Canada would be a real advantage to us; we may demand it under his second head, as an "*indemnification* for the charges incurred" in recovering our just rights; otherwise, according to his own principles, the demand of Guadaloupe can have no foundation.—That "our claims before the war were large enough for possession and for security too⁸," though it seems a clear point with the ingenious remarker, is, I own, not so with me. I am rather of the contrary opinion, and shall presently give my reasons.

But first let me observe, that we did not make those claims because they were large enough for security, but because we could rightfully claim no more. Advantages gained in the course of this war may increase the extent of our rights. Our claims before the war contained *some* security; but that is no reason why we should neglect acquiring *more*, when the demand of more is become reasonable. It may be reasonable in the case of America, to ask for the security recommended by the author of the Letter⁹, though it would be preposterous to do it in many cases. His proposed demand is founded on the little value of Canada to the French; the right we have to ask, and the power we may have to insist on an indemnification for our expences; the difficulty the French themselves will be under of restraining their restless subjects in America from encroaching on our limits and disturbing our trade; and the difficulty on our parts of preventing encroachments, that may possibly exist many years without coming to our knowledge.

But the remarker "does not see why the arguments, employed concerning a security for a peaceable behavior in Canada, would not be equally cogent for calling for the

⁸ Remarks, p. 19.

⁹ Page 30, of the Letter, and p. 21, of the Remarks.

same security in Europe¹." On a little farther reflection, he must I think be sensible, that the circumstances of the two cases are widely different.—*Here* we are separated by the best and clearest of boundaries, the ocean, and we have people in or near every part of our territory. Any attempt to encroach upon us, by building a fort even in the obscurest corner of these islands, must therefore be known and prevented immediately. The aggressors also must be known, and the nation they belong to would be accountable for their aggression. In America it is quite otherwise. A vast wilderness, thinly or scarce at all peopled, conceals with ease the march of troops and workmen. Important passes may be seized within our limits, and forts built in a month, at a small expence, that may cost us an age, and a million, to remove. Dear experience has taught this. But what is still *worse*, the wide extended forests between our settlements and theirs, are inhabited by barbarous tribes of savages, that delight in war, and take pride in murder; subjects properly neither of the French nor English, but strongly attached to the former by the art and indefatigable industry of priests, similarity of superstitions, and frequent family alliances. These are easily, and have been continually, instigated to fall upon and massacre our planters, even in times of full peace between the two crowns; to the certain diminution of our people and the contraction of our settlements². And though it is known they are supplied by the

¹ Remarks, p. 28.

² A very intelligent American writer, Dr. Clark, in his *Observations on the late and present Conduct of the French, &c.* printed at Boston, 1755, says,

“ The Indians in the French interest are, upon all proper opportunities, *instigated by their priests* (who have generally the chief management of their public councils) to acts of hostility against the English, even in time of profound peace between the two crowns. Of this there are many undeniable instances: the war between the Indians and the colonies of the Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, in 1723, by which those colonies suffered so much damage, was begun by the instigation of the French: their supplies were from them; and there are now original letters of several Jesuits to be produced, whereby it evidently appears, that they were continually animating the Indians, when almost tired with the war, to a farther prosecution of it. The French not only excited the Indians, and supported them, but joined their own forces

French, and carry their prisoners to them, we can, by complaining, obtain no redress; as the governors of Canada have a ready excuse, that the Indians are an independent people, over whom they have no power, and for whose actions they are therefore not accountable. Surely circumstances so widely different may reasonably authorise different demands of security in America, from such as are usual or necessary in Europe.

The remarker however thinks, that our real dependence for keeping "France or any other nation true to her engagements, must not be in demanding securities which no nation whilst *independent* can give; but on our own strength and our own vigilance³. No nation that has carried on a war with disadvantage, and is unable to continue it, can be said under such circumstances, to be *independent*; and while either side thinks itself in a condition to demand an indemnification, there is no man in his senses, but will, *ceteris paribus*, prefer an indemnification, that is a cheaper and more effectual security than any other he can think of. Nations in this situation demand and cede countries by almost every treaty of peace that is made. The French part of the island of St. Christophers was added to Great Britain in circumstances altogether similar to those in which a few months may probably place the country of Canada. Farther security has always been deemed a motive with a con-

with them in all the late hostilities that have been committed within his majesty's province of Nova Scotia. And from an intercepted letter this year from the Jesuits at Penobscot, and from other information, it is certain, that they have been using their utmost endeavors to excite the Indians to new acts of hostility against his majesty's colony of the Massachusetts Bay; and some have been committed. The French not only excite the Indians to acts of hostility, but reward them for it, by *buying the English prisoners of them*: for the ransom of each of which they afterwards demand of us the price that is usually given for a slave in these colonies. They do this under the specious pretence of rescuing the poor prisoners from the cruelties and barbarities of the savages; but in reality to encourage them to continue their depredations, as they can by this means get more by hunting the English, than by hunting wild beasts; and the French at the same time are thereby enabled to keep up a large body of Indians, entirely at the expence of the English."

³ Remarks, p. 25.

queror to be less moderate ; and even the *vanquished* insist upon security as a reason for demanding what they acknowledge they could not otherwise properly ask. The security of the frontier of France *on the side of the Netherlands* was always considered in the negotiation, that began at Gertrudenburg, and ended with that war. For the same reason they demanded and had Cape Breton. But a war, concluded to the advantage of France, has always added something to the power, either of France, or the house of Bourbon. Even that of 1733, which she commenced with declarations of her having no ambitious views, and which finished by a treaty, at which the ministers of France repeatedly declared, that she desired nothing for herself, in effect gained for her Lorrain, an indemnification ten times the value of all her North American possessions. In short, security and quiet of princes and states have ever been deemed sufficient reasons, when supported by power, for disposing of rights ; and such dispositions have never been looked on as want of moderation. It has always been the foundation of the most general treaties. The security of Germany was the argument for yielding considerable possessions there to the Swedes : and the security of Europe divided the Spanish monarchy by the partition treaty, made between powers who had no other right to dispose of any part of it. There can be no cession that is not supposed at least, to increase the power of the party to whom it is made. It is enough that he has a right to ask it, and that he does it not merely to serve the purposes of a dangerous ambition.

Canada, in the hands of Britain, will endanger the kingdom of France as little as any other cession ; and from its situation and circumstances cannot be hurtful to any other state. Rather, if peace be an advantage, this cession may be such to all Europe. The present war teaches us, that disputes arising in America, may be an occasion of embroiling nations who have no concerns there. If the French remain in Canada and Louisiana, fix the boundaries as you will between us and them, we must border on each other for more than fifteen hundred miles. The people that in-

habit the frontiers are generally the refuse of both nations, often of the worst morals and the least discretion; remote from the eye, the prudence, and the restraint of government. Injuries are therefore frequently, in some part or other of so long a frontier, committed on both sides, resentment provoked, the colonies are first engaged, and then the mother countries. And two great nations can scarce be at war in Europe, but some other prince or state thinks it a convenient opportunity to revive some ancient claim, seize some advantage, obtain some territory, or enlarge some power at the expence of a neighbor. The flames of war, once kindled, often spread far and wide, and the mischief is infinite. Happy it proved to both nations, that the Dutch were prevailed on finally to cede the New Netherlands (now the province of New York) to us at the peace of 1674; a peace that has ever since continued between us, but must have been frequently disturbed, if they had retained the possession of that country, bordering several hundred miles on our colonies of Pennsylvania westward, Connecticut and the Massachusetts eastward. Nor is it to be wondered at, that people of different language, religion, and manners, should in those remote parts engage in frequent quarrels; when we find, that even the people of our *own colonies* have frequently been so exasperated against *each other*, in their disputes about boundaries, as to proceed to open violence and bloodshed.

2. *Erecting forts in the back settlements, almost in no instance a sufficient security against the Indians and the French; but the possession of Canada implies every security, and ought to be had, while in our power.*

But the remarker thinks *we shall be sufficiently secure in America, if we "raise English forts at such passes as may at once make us respectable to the French and to the Indian nations".* The security desirable in America may be considered as of three kinds. 1. A security of possession, that the French shall not drive us out of the country. 2. A se-

curity of our planters from the inroads of savages, and the murders committed by them. 3. A security that the British nation shall not be obliged, on every new war, to repeat the immense expence occasioned by this, to defend its possessions in America. Forts, in the most important passes, may, I acknowledge, be of use to obtain the *first* kind of security: but as those situations are far advanced beyond the inhabitants, the expence of maintaining and supplying the garrisons will be very great, even in time of full peace, and immense on every interruption of it; as it is easy for skulking-parties of the enemy, in such long roads through the woods, to intercept and cut off our convoys, unless guarded continually by great bodies of men.—The *second* kind of security will not be obtained by such forts, unless they were connected by a wall like that of China, from one end of our settlements to the other. If the Indians, when at war, marched like the Europeans, with great armies, heavy cannon, baggage, and carriages; the passes through which alone such armies could penetrate our country, or receive their supplies, being secured, all might be sufficiently secure; but the case is widely different. They go to war, as they call it, in small parties; from fifty men down to five. Their hunting life has made them acquainted with the whole country, and scarce any part of it is impracticable to such a party. They can travel through the woods even by night, and know how to conceal their tracks. They pass easily between your forts undiscovered; and privately approach the settlements of your frontier inhabitants. They need no convoys of provisions to follow them; for whether they are shifting from place to place in the woods, or lying in wait for an opportunity to strike a blow, every thicket and every stream furnishes so small a number with sufficient subsistence. When they have surprised separately, and murdered and scalped a dozen families, they are gone with inconceivable expedition through unknown ways: and it is very rare that pursuers have any chance of coming up with them^s. In short, long experience has taught our plan-

5 “ Although the Indians live scattered, as a hunter’s life requires, they may be collected together from almost any distance; as they can find their subsis-

ters, that they cannot rely upon forts as a security against Indians ; the inhabitants of Hackney might as well rely upon

tance from their gun in their travelling. But let the number of the Indians be what it will, they are not formidable merely on account of their numbers : there are many other circumstances that give them a great advantage over the English. The English inhabitants, though numerous, are extended over a large tract of land, five hundred leagues in length on the sea shore ; and although some of their trading towns are thick settled, their settlements in the country towns must be at a distance from each other : besides, that in a new country where lands are cheap, people are fond of acquiring large tracts to themselves ; and therefore in the out-settlements, they must be more remote ; and as the people that move out are generally poor, they sit down either where they can easiest procure land, or soonest rise a subsistence. Add to this, that the English have fixed settled habitations, the easiest and shortest passage to which the Indians, by constantly hunting in the woods, are perfectly well acquainted with ; whereas the English know little or nothing of the Indian country, nor of the passages through the woods that lead to it. The Indian way of making war is by sudden attack upon exposed places ; and as soon as they have done mischief they retire, and either go home by the same or some different route, as they think safest ; or to go to some other place at a distance, to renew their stroke. If a sufficient party should happily be ready to pursue them, it is a great chance, whether in a country consisting of woods and swamps, which the English are not acquainted with, the enemy do not lie in ambush for them in some convenient place, and from thence destroy them. If this should not be the case, but the English should pursue them, as soon as they have gained the rivers, by means of their canoes (to the use of which they are brought up from their infancy) they presently get out of their reach : further, if a body of men were to march into their country, to the place where they are settled, they can, upon the least notice, without great disadvantage, quit their present habitations, and betake themselves to new ones." *Clerk's Observations*, p. 13.

" It has been already remarked, that the tribes of the Indians, living upon the lakes and rivers that run upon the back of the English settlements in North America, are very numerous, and can furnish a great number of fighting men, all perfectly well acquainted with the use of arms as soon as capable of carrying them, as they get the whole of their subsistence from hunting ; and that this army, large as it may be, can be maintained by the French without any expence. From their numbers, their situation, and the rivers that run into the English settlements, it is easy to conceive, that they can at any time make an attack upon, and constantly annoy as many of the exposed English settlements as they please, and those at any distance from each other. The effects of such incursions have been too severely felt by many of the British colonies, not to be very well known. The entire breaking up places, that had been for a considerable time settled at a great expence both of labor and money ; burning the houses, destroying the flock, killing and making prisoners great numbers of the inhabitants, with all the cruel usage they meet with in their captivity, is only a part of the scene. All other places that are exposed, are kept in continual terror ; the lands lie waste and uncultivated, from the danger that attends those that shall presume to work upon them : besides the immense charge the governments must be at in a very uneffectual manner to defend their extended frontiers ; and all this from the influence the French have had over

the tower of London, to secure them against highwaymen and housebreakers.—As to the *third* kind of security, that we shall not, in a few years, have all we have done to do over again in America, and be obliged to employ the same number of troops, and ships, at the same immense expence, to defend our possessions there, while we are in proportion weakened here: such forts I think, cannot prevent this. During a peace, it is not to be doubted the French, who are adroit at fortifying, will likewise erect forts in the most advantageous places of the country we leave them; which will make it more difficult than ever to be reduced in case of another war. We know by experience of this war, how extremely difficult it is to march an army through the American woods, with its necessary cannon and stores, sufficient to reduce a very slight fort. The accounts at the treasury will tell you, what amazing sums we have necessarily spent in the expeditions against two very trifling forts, Duquesne and Crown Point. While the French retain their influence over the Indians, they can easily keep our long extended frontier in continual alarm, by a very few of those people; and with a small number of regulars and militia, in such a country, we find they can keep an army of ours in full employ for several years. We therefore shall not need to be told by our colonies, that if we leave Canada, however circumscribed, to the French, “we have done nothing⁶,” we shall soon be made sensible *ourselves* of this truth, and to our cost.

I would not be understood to deny, that even if we subdue and retain Canada, some *few forts* may be of use to secure the goods of the traders, and protect the commerce, in case of any sudden misunderstanding with any tribe of Indians: but these forts will be best under the care of the colonies interested in the Indian trade, and garrisoned by their provincial forces, and at their own expence. Their

but comparatively, a few of the Indians. To the same or greater evils still will every one of the colonies be exposed, whenever the same influence shall be extended to the whole body of them.” Ibid. p. 20.

⁶ Remarks, p. 26.

own interest will then induce the American governments to take care of such forts in proportion to their importance, and see that the officers keep their corps full, and mind their duty. But any troops of ours placed there, and accountable here, would, in such remote and obscure places, and at so great a distance from the eye and inspection of superiors, soon become of little consequence, even though the French were left in possession of Canada. If the four independent companies, maintained by the crown in New York more than forty years, at a great expence, consisted, for most part of the time, of faggots chiefly; if their officers enjoyed their places as sinecures, and were only, as a writer⁷ of that country styles them, a kind of military monks; if this was the state of troops posted in a populous country, where the imposition could not be so well concealed; what may we expect will be the case of those, that shall be posted two, three, or four hundred miles from the inhabitants, in such obscure and remote places as Crown Point, Oswego, Duquesne, or Niagara? they would scarce be even faggots; they would dwindle to mere names upon paper, and appear no where but upon the muster-rolls.

Now *all the kinds* of security we have mentioned are obtained by subduing and *retaining* Canada. Our present possessions in America are secured; our planters will no longer be massacred by the Indians, who, depending absolutely on us for what are now become the necessities of life to them (guns, powder, hatchets, knives, and clothing) and having no other Europeans near, that can either supply them, or instigate them against us; there is no doubt of their being always disposed, if we treat them with common justice, to live in perpetual peace with us. And with regard to France, she cannot, in case of another war, put us to the immense expence of defending that long extended frontier; we shall then, as it were, have our backs against a wall in America; the sea coast will be easily protected by our superior naval power: and here “our own watch-

7 Douglass.

fulness and our own strength will be properly, and cannot but be successfully employed. In this situation, 'the force now employed in that part of the world, may be spared for any other service here or elsewhere ; so that both the offensive and defensive strength of the British empire, on the whole, will be greatly increased.

But to leave the French in possession of Canada, *when it is in our power to remove them, and depend* (as the remarker proposes) *on our own "strength and watchfulness"* to prevent the mischiefs that may attend it, *seems neither safe nor prudent.* Happy as we now are, under the best of kings, and in the prospect of a succession promising every felicity a nation was ever blessed with ; happy too in the wisdom and vigor of every part of the administration ; we cannot, we ought not to promise ourselves the uninterrupted continuance of those blessings. The safety of a considerable part of the state, and the interest of the whole, are not to be trusted to the wisdom and vigor of *future administrations* ; when a security is to be had more effectual, more constant, and much less expensive. They, who can be moved by the apprehension of dangers so remote, as that of the future independence of our colonies (a point I shall hereafter consider) seem scarcely consistent with themselves, when they suppose we may rely on the wisdom and vigor of an administration for their safety.—I should indeed think it less material whether Canada were ceded to us or not, if I had in view only the security of *possession* in our colonies. I entirely agree with the remarker, that we are in North America "a far greater continental as well as naval power ;" and that only cowardice or ignorance can subject our colonies there to a French conquest. But for the same reason I disagree with him widely upon another point.

3. *The blood and treasure spent in the American wars, not spent in the cause of the colonies alone.*

I do not think, that our "blood and treasure has been expended," as he intimates, "*in the cause of the colonies,*" and that we are, "making conquests for *them*;" yet I believe this is too common an error. I do not say, they are altogether unconcerned in the event. The inhabitants of them are, in common with the other subjects of Great Britain, anxious for the glory of her crown, the extent of her power and commerce, the welfare and future repose of the whole British people. They could not therefore but take a large share in the affronts offered to Britain; and have been animated with a truly British spirit to exert themselves beyond their strength, and against their evident interest. Yet so unfortunate have they been, that their virtue has made against them; for upon no better foundation than this have they been supposed the authors of a war, carried on for their advantage only. It is a great mistake to imagine that the American country in question between Great Britain and France is claimed as the property of any *individuals or public body in America*; or that the possession of it by Great Britain is likely, in any lucrative view, to redound at all to the advantage of any person there. On the other hand, the bulk of the inhabitants of North America are *land-owners*, whose lands are inferior in value to those of Britain, only by the want of an equal number of people. It is true, the accession of the large territory claimed before the war began (especially if that be secured by the possession of Canada) will tend to the increase of the British subjects faster, than if they had been confined within the mountains: yet the increase within the mountains only would evidently make the comparative population equal to that of Great Britain much sooner than it can be expected, when our people are spread over a country six times as large. I think this is the only point of light in which this account is to be viewed, and is the only one in which any

of the colonies are concerned.—No colony, no possessor of lands in any colony, therefore wishes for conquests, or can be benefited by them, otherwise than as they may be a means of *securing peace on their borders*. No considerable advantage has resulted to the colonies by the conquests of this war, or can result from confirming them by the peace, but what they must enjoy in common with the rest of the British people; with this evident drawback from their share of these advantages, that they will necessarily lessen, or at least prevent the increase of the value of what makes the principal part of their private property....their land. A people, spread through the whole tract of country, on this side the Mississippi, and secured by Canada in our hands, would probably for some centuries find employment in agriculture, and thereby free us at home effectually from our fears of American manufactures. Unprejudiced men well know, that all the penal and prohibitory laws that were ever thought on will not be sufficient to prevent manufactures in a country, whose inhabitants surpass the number that can subsist by the husbandry of it. That this will be the case in America soon, if our people remain confined within the mountains, and almost as soon should it be unsafe for them to live beyond, though the country be ceded to us, no man acquainted with political and commercial history can doubt. Manufactures are founded in poverty: it is the multitude of poor without land in a country, and who must work for others at low wages or starve, that enables undertakers to carry on a manufacture, and afford it cheap enough to prevent the importation of the same kind from abroad, and to bear the expence of its own exportation.—But no man, who can have a piece of land of his own, sufficient by his labor to subsist his family in plenty, is poor enough to be a manufacturer, and work for a master. Hence, while there is land enough in America for our people, there can never be manufactures to any amount or value. It is a striking observation of a very *able pen*¹,

¹ This appears to be meant for Dr. Adam Smith, who seems not at this time to have printed any of his political pieces.

that the natural livelihood of the thin inhabitants of a forest country is hunting; that of a greater number, pasturage: that of a middling population, agriculture; and that of the greatest, manufactures; which last must subsist the bulk of the people in a full country, or they must be subsisted by charity, or perish. The extended population, therefore, that is most advantageous to Great Britain, will be best effected, because only effectually secured, by the possession of Canada.

So far as the *being* of our present colonies in North America is concerned, I think indeed with the remarker, that the French there are not "*an enemy to be apprehended*;"—but the expression is too vague to be applicable to the present, or indeed to any other case. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, unequal as they are to this nation in power and numbers of people, are enemies to be still apprehended: and the Highlanders of Scotland have been so for many ages, by the greatest princes of Scotland and Britain. The wild Irish were able to give a great deal of disturbance even to Queen Elizabeth, and cost her more blood and treasure than her war with Spain. Canada, in the hands of France, has always stunted the growth of our colonies, in the course of this war, and indeed before it, has disturbed and vexed even the best and strongest of them; has found means to murder thousands of their people, and unsettle a great part of their country. Much more able will it be to starve the growth of an infant settlement. Canada has also found means to make this nation spend two or three millions a year in America; and a people, how small soever, that in their present situation, can do this as often as we have a war with them, is, methinks, "*an enemy to be apprehended*."

Our North American colonies are to be considered as the *frontier of the British empire* on that side. The frontier of any dominion being attacked, it becomes not merely "*the cause*" of the people immediately attacked (the inhabitants

of that frontier) but properly "the cause" of the whole body. Where the frontier people owe and pay obedience, there they have a right to look for protection: no political proposition is better established than this. It is therefore invidious, to represent the "blood and treasure" spent in this war, as spent in "the cause of the colonies" only; and that they are "absurd and ungrateful," if they think we have done nothing, unless we "make conquests for them," and reduce Canada to gratify their "vain ambition," &c. It will not be a conquest for *them*, nor gratify any vain ambition of theirs. It will be a conquest for the *whole*; and all our people will, in the increase of trade, and the ease of taxes, find the advantage of it. Should we be obliged at any time, to make a war for the protection of our commerce, and to secure the exportation of our manufactures, would it be fair to represent such a war, merely as blood and treasure spent in the cause of the weavers of Yorkshire, Norwich, or the West; the cutlers of Sheffield, or the button-makers of Birmingham? I hope it will appear before I end these sheets, that if ever there was a national war, this is truly such a one: a war in which the interest of the whole nation is directly and fundamentally concerned. Those, who would be thought deeply skilled in human nature, affect to discover self-interested views every where, at the bottom of the fairest the most generous conduct. Suspicions and charges of this kind meet with ready reception and belief in the minds even of the multitude, and therefore less acuteness and address, than the remarker is possessed of, would be sufficient to persuade the nation generally, that all the zeal and spirit, manifested and exerted by the colonies in this war, was only in "their own cause," to "make conquest for themselves," to engage us to make more for them, to gratify their own "vain ambition."

But should they now humbly address the mother-country in the terms and the sentiments of the remarker; return her their grateful acknowledgments for the blood and treasure she had spent in "their cause;" confess that enough had not been done "for them;" allow that "English forts,

raised in proper passes, will, with the wisdom and vigor of her administration," be a sufficient future protection; express their desires that their people may be confined within the mountains, lest, if they be suffered to spread and extend themselves in the fertile and pleasant country on the other side, they should "increase infinitely from all causes," "live wholly on their own labor" and become independent; beg therefore that the French may be suffered to remain in possession of Canada, as their neighborhood may be useful to prevent our increase, and the removing them may "in its consequences be even dangerous:"—I say, should such an address from the colonies make its appearance here (though, according to the remarker, it would be a most just and reasonable one) would it not, might it not with more justice be answered:—We understand you, gentlemen, perfectly well: you have only your interest in view: you want to have the people confined within your present limits, that in a few years the lands you are possessed of may increase tenfold in value! you want to reduce the price of labor, by increasing numbers on the same territory, that you may be able to set up manufactures and vie with your mother-country! you would have your people kept in a body, that you may be more able to dispute the commands of the crown, and obtain an independency. You would have the French left in Canada, to exercise your military virtue, and make you a warlike people, that you may have more confidence to embark in schemes of disobedience, and greater ability to support them! You have tasted too, the sweets of TWO OR THREE MILLIONS sterling per annum spent among you by our fleets and forces, and you are unwilling to be without a pretence for kindling up another war, and thereby occasioning a repetition of the same delightful doses! But, gentlemen, allow us to understand *our* interest a little likewise: we shall remove the French from Canada, that you may live in peace, and we be no more drained by your quarrels. You shall have land enough to cultivate, that you may have

neither necessity nor inclination to go into manufacture for you, and govern you.

A reader of the Remarks may be apt to say, if this writer would have us restore Canada, on principles of moderation, how can we, consistent with those principles, retain Guadaloupe, which he represents of so much greater value!—I will endeavor to explain this, because by doing it, I shall have an opportunity of showing the truth and good sense of the answer to the interested application I have just supposed: the author then is only apparently and not really inconsistent with himself. If we can obtain the credit of moderation by restoring Canada, it is well: but we should, however, restore it at *all events*; because it would not only be of no use to us; but “the possession of it (in his opinion) may in its consequences be dangerous.”³ As how? Why, plainly, (at length it comes out) if the French are not left there to check the growth of our colonies, “they will extend themselves almost without bounds into the inland parts, and increase infinitely from all causes; becoming a numerous, hardy, independent people; possessed of a strong country, communicating little or not at all with England, living wholly on their own labor, and in process of time knowing little and enquiring little about the mother-country.” In short, according to this writer, our present colonies are large enough and numerous enough; and the French ought to be left in North America to prevent their increase, lest they become not only useless, but dangerous to Britain. I agree with the gentleman, that with Canada in our possession, our people in America will increase amazingly. I know, that their common rate of increase, where they are not molested by the enemy, is doubling their numbers every twenty-five years, by natural generation only; exclusive of the accession of foreigners.⁴ I

³ Remarks p. 50, 51.

⁴ The reason of this greater increase in America than in Europe is, that in old settled countries, all trades, farms, offices, and employments are full; and many people refrain from marriage till they see an opening, in which they can settle

think this increase continuing would probably, in a century more, make the number of British subjects on that side the water more numerous than they now are on this ; But,

4. *Not necessary that the American colonies should cease being useful to the mother-country. Their preference over the West-Indian colonies stated.*

I am far from entertaining on that account, any fears of their becoming either useless or dangerous to us; and I look on those fears to be merely imaginary, and without any probable foundation.—The remarker is reserved in giving his reasons ; as in his opinion this “ is not a fit subject for discussion.”—I shall give mine, because I conceive it a subject necessary to be discussed ; and the rather, as those fears, how groundless and chimerical soever, may, by possessing the multitude, possibly induce the ablest ministry to conform to them against their own judgment ; and thereby prevent the assuring to the British name and nation a stability and permanency, that no man acquainted with history durst have hoped for, till our American possessions opened the pleasing prospect. The remarker thinks, that our people in America, “ finding no check from Canada, would extend themselves almost without bounds into the inland parts, and increase infinitely from all causes.” The very reason he assigns for their so extending, and which is indeed the true one (their being “ invited to it by the pleasantness, fertility, and plenty of the country,”) may satisfy us, that this extension will continue to proceed, as long as there remains any pleasant fertile country within their reach. And if we even suppose them confined by the waters of the Mississippi westward, and by those of St. Laurence and the lakes

themselves, with a reasonable prospect of maintaining a family : but in America, it being easy to obtain land, which, with moderate labor will afford subsistence and something to spare, people marry more readily and earlier in life, whence arises a numerous offspring and the swift population of those countries. It is a common error, that we cannot fill our provinces or increase the number of them, without draining this nation of its people. The increase alone of our present colonies is sufficient for both those purposes. [Written in 1760.]

to the northward ; yet still we shall leave them room enough to increase, even in the manner of settling now practised there, till they amount to perhaps a hundred millions of souls. This must take some centuries to fulfil : and in the *mean time*, this nation must necessarily supply them with the manufactures they consume ; because the new settlers will be employed in agriculture ; and the new settlements will so continually draw off the spare hands from the old, that our present colonies will not, during the period we have mentioned, find themselves in a condition to manufacture, even for their own inhabitants, to any considerable degree, much less for those who are settling behind them.

Thus our trade must, till that country becomes as fully peopled as England (that is for centuries to come) be continually increasing, and with it our naval power ; because the ocean is between us and them, and our ships and seamen must increase as that trade increases.—The human body and the political differ in this ; that the first is limited by nature to a certain stature, which, when attained, it cannot ordinarily exceed : the other, by better government and more prudent policy, as well as by the change of manners and other circumstances, often takes fresh starts of growth, after being long at a stand ; and may add tenfold to the dimensions it had for ages been confined to. The mother, being of full stature, is in a few years equalled by a growing daughter : but in the case of a mother-country and her colonies, it is quite different. The growth of the children tends to increase the growth of the mother, and so the difference and superiority is longer preserved. Were the inhabitants of this island limited to their present number by any thing in nature, or by unchangeable circumstances, the equality of population between the two countries might indeed sooner come to pass : but sure experience, in those parts of the island where manufactures have been introduced, teaches us ; that people increase and multiply in proportion as the means and facility of gaining a livelihood increase : and that this island, if they could be employed, is capable of supporting ten times its present number of people. In propor-

tion, therefore, as the demand increases for the manufactures of Britain, by the increase of people in her colonies, the number of her people at home will increase; and with them, the strength as well as the wealth of the nation. For satisfaction in this point, let the reader compare in his mind the number and force of our present fleets, with our fleet in Queen Elizabeth's time,⁵ before we had colonies. Let him compare the ancient, with the present state of our towns on or near our western coast (Manchester, Liverpool, Kendal, Lancaster, Glasgow, and the countries round them) that trade with any manufactures for our colonies (not to mention Leeds, Halifax, Sheffield, and Birmingham,) and consider what a difference there is in the numbers of people, buildings, rents, and the value of land and of the produce of land; even if he goes back no farther than is within man's memory. Let him compare those countries with others on the same island, where manufactures have not yet extended themselves; observe the present difference, and reflect how much greater our strength may be (if numbers give strength) when our manufactures shall occupy every part of the island where they can possibly be subsisted.

But, say the objectors, "there is a *certain distance from the sea*, in America, beyond which the expence of carriage will put a stop to the sale and consumption of your manufactures; and this, with the difficulty of making returns for them, will oblige the inhabitants to manufacture for themselves; of course, if you suffer your people to extend their settlements beyond that distance, your people become useless to you:" and this distance is limited by some to two hundred miles, by others to the Apalachian mountains.—Not to insist on a plain truth, that no part of a dominion, from whence a government may on occasion draw supplies and aids both of men and money (though at too great a distance to be supplied with manufactures from some other part) is therefore to be deemed useless to the whole; I shall endeavor to show, that these imaginary limits of uti-

⁵ Viz. forty sail, none of more than forty guns.

lity, even in point of commerce, are much too narrow. The inland parts of the continent of Europe are farther from the sea, than the limits of settlement proposed for America. Germany is full of tradesmen and artificers of all kinds, and the governments there are not all of them always favorable to the commerce of Britain; yet it is a well-known fact, that our manufactures find their way even into the heart of Germany. Ask the great manufacturers and merchants of the Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, Manchester, and Norwich goods; and they will tell you, that some of them send their riders frequently through France or Spain, and Italy, up to Vienna, and back through the middle and northern parts of Germany, to show samples of their wares, and collect orders, which they receive by almost every mail, to a vast amount. Whatever charges arise on the carriage of goods are added to the value, and all paid by the consumer. If these nations, over whom we can have no government, over whose consumption we can have no influence, but what arises from the cheapness and goodness of our wares, whose trade, manufactures, or commercial connections are not subject to the control of our laws, as those of our colonies certainly are in some degree; I say, if these nations purchase and consume such quantities of our goods, notwithstanding the remoteness of their situation from the sea; how much less likely is it that the settlers in America, who must for ages be employed in agriculture chiefly, should make cheaper for themselves the goods our manufacturers at present supply them with; even if we suppose the carriage five, six, or seven hundred miles from the sea as difficult and expensive, as the like distance into Germany: whereas in the latter, the natural distances are frequently doubled by political obstructions; I mean the intermixed territories and clashing interests of princes.⁶ But when we consider, that the inland parts of America are penetrated by great navigable

⁶ Sir C. Whitworth has the following assertion: "Each state in Germany is jealous of its neighbors; and hence, rather than facilitate the export or transmit of its neighbor's products or manufactures, they have all recourse to strangers." *State of Trade*, p. xxiv.

rivers: and there are a number of great lakes, communicating with each other, with those rivers, and with the sea, very small portages here and there excepted;⁷ that the sea-coasts (if one may be allowed the expression) of those lakes only, amount at least to two thousand seven hundred miles, exclusive of the rivers running into them (many of which are navigable to a great extent for boats and canoes, through vast tracts of country); how little likely is, it that the expence on the carriage of our goods into those countries should prevent the use of them. If the poor Indians in those remote parts are now able to pay for the linen, woollen, and iron wares they are at present furnished with by the French and English traders (though Indians have nothing but what they get by hunting, and the goods are loaded with all the impositions fraud and knavery can contrive to inhance their value) will not industrious English farmers, hereafter settled in those countries, be much better able to pay for what shall be brought them in the way of fair commerce.

If it is asked, *What* can such farmers raise, wherewith to pay for the manufactures they may want from us? I answer, that the inland parts of America in question are well known to be fitted for the production of hemp, flax, potash, and above all, silk; the southern parts may produce olive-oil, raisins, currants, indigo, and cochineal. Not to mention horses and black cattle, which may easily be driven to the maritime markets, and at the same time assist in conveying other commodities. That the commodities first mentioned may easily, by water and land carriage, be brought to the sea-ports from interior America, will not seem incredible,

⁷ From New York into Lake Ontario, the land-carriage of the several portages altogether, amounts to but about twenty-seven miles. From lake Ontario into lake Erie, the land-carriage at Niagara is but about twelve miles. All the lakes above Niagara communicate by navigable straits, so that no land-carriage is necessary, to go out of one into another. From Presqu'isle on lake Erie, there are but fifteen miles land-carriage, and that a good waggon road, to Beef River, a branch of the Ohio; which brings you into a navigation of many thousand miles inland, if you take together the Ohio, the Mississippi, and all the great rivers and branches that run into them.

when we reflect, that *hemp* formerly came from the Ukraine and most southern parts of Russia to Wologda, and down the Dwina to Archangel; and thence, by a perilous navigation, round the North Cape to England, and other parts of Europe. It now comes from the same country up the Dnieper, and down the Duna, with much land-carriage. Great part of the Russia *iron*, no high-priced commodity, is brought three hundred miles by land and water from the heart of Siberia. *Furs* [the produce too of America] are brought to Amsterdam from all parts of Siberia, even the most remote, Kamstchatka. The same country furnishes me with another instance of extended inland commerce. It is found worth while to keep up a mercantile communication between Pekin in China, and Petersburg. And none of these instances of inland commerce *exceed* those of the courses by which, at several periods, *the whole of the trade of the East* was carried on. Before the prosperity of the Mameluke dominion in Egypt, fixed the staple for the riches of the East at Cairo and Alexandria (whither they were brought from the Red Sea) great part of those commodities were carried to the cities of Cashugar and Balk. (This gave birth to those towns, that still subsist upon the remains of their ancient opulence, amidst a people and country equally wild.) From thence those goods were carried down the Amû (the ancient Oxus) to the Caspian Sea, and up the Wolga to Astrachan; from whence they were carried over to, and down the Don, to the mouth of that river; and thence again the Venetians directly, and the Genoese and Venetians indirectly (by way of Kaffa and Trebisonde) dispersed them through the Mediterranean and

8 We beg pardon for attempting to remind the reader that he must not confound the river Duna, with the river Dwina.—The fork of the Ohio is about four hundred miles distant from the sea, and the fork of the Mississippi about nine hundred: it is four hundred miles from Petersburg to Moscow, and very considerably more than four thousand from Petersburg to Pekin. This is enough to justify Dr. Franklin's positions in the page above, without going into farther particulars.

some other parts of Europe. Another part of those goods was carried over land from the Wolga to the river Duna and Neva; from both they were carried to the city of Wisbuy in the Baltic (so eminent for its sea-laws); and from the city of Ladoga on the Neva, we are told they were even carried by the Dwina to Archangel; and from thence round the North Cape.—If iron and hemp will bear the charge of carriage from this inland country, *other metals* will, as well as iron; and certainly *silk*, since *3d.* per *lb.* is not above 1 per cent. on the value, and amounts to 28% per ton. If the *growths* of a country find their way out of it; the *manufactures* of the country where they go will infallibly find their way into it.

They, who understand the economy and principles of manufactures, know, that it is impossible to establish them in places not populous; and even in those that are populous, hardly possible to establish them to the prejudices of the places *already in possession of them*. Several attempts have been made in France and Spain, countenanced by government, to draw from us, and establish in those countries, our hard-ware and woollen manufactures; but without success. The reasons are various. A manufacture is part of a great system of commerce, which takes in conveniences of various kinds; methods of providing materials of all sorts, machines for expediting and facilitating labor, all the channels of correspondence for vending the wares, the credit and confidence necessary to found and support this correspondence, the mutual aid of different artizans, and a thousand other particulars, which time and long experience have *gradually* established. A part of such a system cannot support itself without the whole: and before the whole can be obtained the part perishes. Manufactures, where they are in perfection, are carried on by a multiplicity of hands, each of which is expert only in his own part; no one of them a master of the whole; and, if by any means spirited away to a foreign country, he is lost without his fellows. Then it is a matter of the extremest difficulty to persuade a complete set of workmen, skilled in all parts of a manufactory, to

leave their country together, and settle in a foreign land. Some of the idle and drunken may be enticed away ; but these only disappoint their employers, and serve to discourage the undertaking. If by royal munificence, and an expence that the profits of the trade alone would not bear, a complete set of good and skilful hands are collected and carried over, they find so much of the system imperfect, many things wanting to carry on the trade to advantage, so many difficulties to overcome, and the knot of hands so easily broken by death, dissatisfaction, and desertion ; that they and their employers are discouraged together, and the project vanishes into smoke. Hence it happens, that established manufactures are hardly ever lost, but by foreign conquest, or by some eminent interior fault in manners or government ; a bad police oppressing and discouraging the workmen, or religious persecutions driving the sober and industrious out of the country. There is, in short, scarce a single instance in history of the contrary, where manufactures have once taken firm root. They sometimes start up in a new place ; but are generally supported, like exotic plants, at more expence than they are worth for any thing but curiosity ; until these new seats become the refuge of the manufacturers driven from the old ones. The conquest of Constantinople, and final reduction of the Greek empire, dispersed many curious manufacturers into different parts of Christendom. The former conquests of its provinces, had *before* done the same. The loss of liberty in Verona, Milan, Florence, Pisa, Pistoia, and other great cities of Italy, drove the manufacturers of woollen cloths into Spain and Flanders. The latter first lost their trade and manufactures to Antwerp and the cities of Brabant ; from whence, by persecution for religion, they were sent into Holland and England : while the civil wars, during the minority of Charles the First of Spain, which ended in the loss of the liberty of their great towns, ended too in the loss of the manufactures of Toledo, Segovia, Salamanca, Medina del campo, &c. The revocation of the *edict of Nantes* communicated, to all the protestant part of Europe, the paper, silk,

and other valuable manufactures of France; almost peculiar at that time to that country, and till then in vain attempted elsewhere. To be convinced, that it is not soil and climate, nor even freedom from taxes, that determines the residence of manufacturers, we need only turn our eyes on Holland; where a multitude of manufacturers are still carried on (perhaps more than on the same extent of territory any where in Europe) and sold on terms upon which they cannot be had in any other part of the world. And this too is true of those *growths*, which, by their nature and the labor required to raise them, come the nearest to manufactures.

As to the common-place objection to the North American settlements, that they are *in the same climate, and their produce the same as that of England*;—in the first place it is not true; it is particularly not so of the countries now likely to be added to our settlements; and of our present colonies, the products, lumber, tobacco, rice, and indigo, great articles of commerce, do not interfere with the products of England: in the next place, a man must know very little of the trade of the world, who does not know, that the greater part of it is carried on between countries whose climates differ very little. Even the trade between the different parts of these British islands is greatly superior to that between England and all the West India Islands put together.

If I have been successful in proving that a considerable commerce may and will subsist between us and our future most inland settlements in North America, notwithstanding their distance; I have more than half proved no *other inconveniency will arise* from their distance. Many men in such a country must “know,” must “think,” and must “care” about the country they chiefly trade with. The juridical and other connections of government are yet a faster hold than even commercial ties, and spread, directly and indirectly, far and wide. Business to be solicited and causes depending create a great intercourse, even where private property is *not* divided in different countries;—yet

this division *will always* subsist, where different countries are ruled by the same government. Where a man has landed property both in the mother country and the province, he will almost always live in the mother country; this, though there were no trade, is singly a sufficient gain. It is said, that Ireland pays near a million sterling annually to its absentees in England: the balance of trade from Spain, or even Portugal, is scarcely equal to this.

Let it not be said we have *no absentees* from North America. There are many, to the writer's knowledge; and if there are at present but few of them, that distinguish themselves here by great expence, it is owing to the mediocrity of fortune among the inhabitants of the Northern colonies, and a more equal division of landed property, than in the West India islands, so that there are as yet but few large estates. But if those, who have such estates, reside upon and take care of them themselves, are they worse subjects than they would be if they lived idly in England?—Great merit is assumed for the gentlemen of the West Indies, on the score of their residing and spending their money in England. I would not depreciate that merit; it is considerable; for they might, if they pleased, spend their money in France: but the difference between their spending it here and at home is not so great. What do they spend it in when they are here, but the produce and manufactures of this country—and would they not do the same if they were at home? Is it of any great importance to the English farmer, whether the West Indian gentleman comes to London and eats his beef, pork, and tongues, fresh; or has them brought to him in the West Indies salted? Whether he eats his English cheese and butter, or drinks his English ale, at London or in Barbadoes? Is the clothier's, or the mercer's or the cutler's, or the toyman's profit less, for their goods being worn and consumed by the same persons residing on the other side of the ocean? Would not the profits of the merchant and mariner be rather greater, and

some addition made to our navigation, ships and seamen? If the North American gentleman stays in his own country, and lives there in that degree of luxury and expence with regard to the use of British manufactures, that his fortune; enables him to do; may not his example (from the imitation of superiors, so natural to mankind) spread the use of those manufactures among hundreds of families around him, and occasion a much greater demand for them, than it would do if he should remove and live in London?—However this may be, if in our views of immediate advantage, it seems preferable, that the gentlemen of large fortunes in North America should reside much in England; it is what may surely be expected, as fast as such fortunes are acquired there. Their having “colleges of their own for the education of their youth,” will not prevent it: a little knowledge and learning acquired increases the appetite for more, and will make the conversation of the learned on this side the water more strongly desired. Ireland has its university likewise; yet this does not prevent the immense pecuniary benefit we receive from that kingdom. And there will always be, in the conveniencies of life, the politeness, the pleasures, the magnificence of the reigning country, many other attractions besides those of learning, to draw men of substance there, where they can (apparently at least) have the best bargain of happiness for their money.

Our trade to the *West India islands*, is undoubtedly a valuable one; but whatever is the amount of it, it *has long been at a stand*. Limited as our sugar planters are by the scantiness of territory, they cannot increase much beyond their present number; and this is an evil, as I shall show hereafter, that will be little helped by our keeping *Guadeloupe*.—The trade to our Northern Colonies is not only greater, but yearly increasing with the increase of people: and even in a greater proportion, as the people increase in wealth and the ability of spending, as well as in numbers¹.

¹ The author afterwards obtained accounts of the exports of North America, and the West India Islands; by which it appeared that there had been some increase of trade to those Islands, as well as to North America, though in a much

I have already said, that *our people in the northern colonies* double in about 25 years, exclusive of the accession of strangers. That I speak within bounds, I appeal to the authentic

less degree. The following extract from these accounts will show the reader at one view the amount of the exports to each, in two different terms of five years; the terms taken at ten years distance from each other, to show the increase, viz.

First term, from 1744 to 1748, inclusive.

<i>Northern Colonies</i>				<i>West India Islands.</i>			
1744—	£.640,114	12	4	—	£.796,112	17	9
1745—	534,316	2	5	—	503,669	19	9
1746—	754,945	4	3	—	472,994	16	7
1747—	726,648	5	5	—	856,463	18	6
1748—	830,243	16	9	—	734,095	15	3
Total 3,486,261				1	2	Tot. £. 3,353,337	
						Difference, 122,930	
						10	
						4	
						£. 3,486,268	
						1	
						2	

Second term, from 1754 to 1758 inclusive.

<i>Northern Colonies.</i>				<i>West India Islands.</i>			
1754—	1,246,615	1	11	—	685,675	3	0
1755—	1,177,848	6	10	—	694,667	13	3
1756—	1,428,720	18	10	—	733,458	16	3
1757—	1,727,924	2	10	—	776,488	0	6
1758—	1,832,948	13	10	—	877,571	19	11
Total, £. 7,414,057				4	3	Total £. 3,767,841	
						Difference, 3,646,215	
						11	
						4	
						£. 7,414,057	
						4	
						3	

In the first term, total of West India islands, 3,363,337 10 10

In the second term, ditto - - - - - 3,767,841 12 11

Increase, only £. 0,404,504 2 1

In the first term, total for Northern Colonies, 3,486,268 1 2

In the second term, ditto - - - - - 7,414,057 4 3

Increase, £. 3,927,789 3 1

By these accounts it appears, that the exports to the West India Islands, and to the northern colonies, were in the first term nearly equal (the difference being only 122,936*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.*) and in the second term, the exports to those islands had only increased 404,504*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.*—Whereas the increase to the northern colonies is 3,927,789*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.* almost *four millions*.

Some part of this increased demand for English goods may be ascribed to the armies and fleets we have had both in North America and the West Indies; and so much for what is consumed by the soldiery; there clothing, stores, ammunition, &c. sent from hence on account of the government, being (as is supposed) not including in these accounts of merchandise exported; but as the war has occasioned a great plenty of money in America, many of the inhabitants have increased their expence.

accounts frequently required by the board of trade, and transmitted to that board by the respective governors; of which accounts I shall select one as a sample, being that from the colony of Rhode Island;² a colony that of all the others receives the least addition from strangers. For the increase of our *trade to those colonies*, I refer to the accounts frequently laid before Parliament, by the officers of the customs, and to the custom-house books: from which I have also selected one account², that of the trade from England

N. B. These accounts do not include any exports from Scotland to America, which are doubtless proportionably considerable; nor the exports from Ireland.

This is calculation carried on from where Dr. Franklin left it. For four years, from 1770 to 1773 inclusively, the same average *annual* exports to the same ports of the West Indies is 994,463*l.* and to the same ports of the North American plantations 2,919,669*l.* But the annual averages of the first and second terms of the former were 672,668*l.* and 753,568*l.* of the latter, 697,254*l.* and 1,482,811*l.*

In ten years therefore (taking the middle years of the terms) the North American trade is found to have *doubled* the West Indian; in the next sixteen years it becomes greater by *three-fold*.—With respect to itself, the North American trade in 32 years (taking the extremes of the terms) had quadrupled: while the West Indian trade increased only one half; of which increase Jamaica alone gave something more than one third, chiefly in consequence of the quiet produced by the peace with the Maroon negroes. Had the West Indian trade continued stationary, the North American trade would have quadrupled with respect to it, in 26 years; and this, notwithstanding the checks given to the latter, by their non-importation agreements and the encouragement of their own manufactures.

There had been an accession to both these trades, produced by the cessions at the treaty of Paris, not touched upon by Dr. Franklin. The average *annual* export-trade, from 1770 to 1773 inclusively, to the ceded West India Islands, amounted to 258,299*l.* to the ceded North American territory it had been 280,423*l.* See Sir Charles Whitworth's State of Trade.

2 *Copy of the report of Governor Hopkins to the Board of Trade, on the Numbers of People in Rhode Island.*

In obedience to your lordship's commands, I have caused the within account to be taken by officers under oath. By it there appears to be in this colony at this time 35,939 white persons, and 4697 blacks, chiefly negroes.

In the year 1730, by order of the then lords commissioners of trade and plantations, an account was taken of the number of people in this colony, and then there appeared to be 15,302 white persons, and 2633 blacks.

Again in the year 1748, by like order, an account was taken of the number of people in this colony, by which it appears there were at that time 29,755 white persons, and 4373 blacks.

Colony of Rhode Island, Dec. 24, 1755.

STEPHEN HOPKINS.

exclusive of Scotland) to Pennsylvania; a colony most remarkable for the plain frugal manner of living of its inhabitants, and the most suspected of carrying on manufactures, on account of the number of German artizans, who are known to have transplanted themselves into that country; though even these, in truth, when they come there, generally apply themselves to agriculture, as the surest support and most advantageous employment. By this account it appears, that the exports to that province have in 28 years, increased nearly in the proportion of 17 to 1; whereas the people themselves, who by other authentic accounts appear to double their numbers (the strangers who settle there included) in about 16 years, cannot in the 28 years have increased in a greater proportion than as 4 to 1. The additional demand then, and consumption of goods from England, of 13 parts in 17 more than the additional number would require, must be owing to this; that the people having by their industry mended their circumstances, are enabled to indulge themselves in finer clothes, better furniture, and a more general use of all our manufactures than heretofore. In fact, the occasion for English goods in North America, and the inclination to have and use them, is, and must be for ages to come, much greater than the ability of the people to pay for them; they must therefore, as they now do, deny themselves many things they would otherwise chuse to

3 *An account of the Value of the Exports from England to Pennsylvania, in one Year, taken at different Periods, viz.*

In 1723 they amounted only to	£. 15,992	19	4
1730 they were	48,592	7	5
1737	56,690	6	7
1742	75,295	3	4
1747	82,404	17	7
1752	201,666	19	11
1757	268,426	6	6

N. B. The accounts for 1758 and 1759, were not then completed; but those acquainted with the North American trade, know that the increase in those two years had been in a still greater proportion; the last year being supposed to exceed any former year by a third: and this owing to the increased ability of the people to spend, from the greater quantities of money circulating among them by the war.

have, or increase their industry to obtain them. And thus, if they should at any time manufacture some coarse article, which on account of its bulk or some other circumstance, cannot so well be brought to them from Britain; it only enables them the better to pay for finer goods, that *otherwise* they could not indulge themselves in: so that the exports thither are not diminished by such manufacture, but rather increased. The single article of manufacture in these colonies, mentioned by the remarker, is *hats* made in New England. It is true, there have been, ever since the first settlement of that country, a few hatters there; drawn thither probably at first by the facility of getting beaver, while the woods were but little cleared, and there was plenty of those animals. The case is greatly altered now. The beaver skins are not now to be had in New England, but from very remote places and at great prices. The trade is accordingly declining there; so that, far from being able to make hats in any quantity for exportation, they cannot supply their home demand; and it is well known, that some thousand dozens are sent thither yearly from London, Bristol, and Liverpool, and sold cheaper than the inhabitants can make them of equal goodness. In fact, the colonies are so little suited for establishing of manufactures, that they are continually losing the few branches they accidentally gain. The working brasiers, cutlers, and pewterers, as well as hatters, who have happened to go over from time to time and settle in the colonies, gradually drop the working part of their business, and import their respective goods from England, whence they can have them cheaper and better than they can make them. They continue their shops indeed, in the same way of dealing; but become *sellers* of brasiery, cutlery, pewter, hats, &c. brought from England, instead of being *makers* of those goods.

5. *The American colonies not dangerous in their nature to Great Britain.*

Thus much as to the apprehension of our colonies becoming useless to us. I shall next consider the other supposition,

that their growth may render them *dangerous*.—Of this, I own, I have not the least conception, when I consider that we have already *fourteen separate governments* on the maritime coast of the continent; and, if we extend our settlements, shall probably have as many more behind them on the inland side. Those we now have are not only under different governors, but have different forms of government, different laws, different interests, and some of them different religious persuasions, and different manners.—Their jealousy of each other is so great, that however necessary an union of the colonies has long been, for their common defence and security against their enemies, and how sensible soever each colony has been that of necessity; yet they have never been able to effect such an union among themselves; nor even to agree in requesting the mother country to establish it for them. Nothing but the immediate command of the crown has been able to produce even the imperfect union, but lately seen there, of the forces of some colonies. If they could not agree to unite for their defence against the French and Indians, who were perpetually harassing their settlements, burning their villages, and murdering their people; can it reasonably be supposed there is any danger of their uniting against their own nation, which protects and encourages them, with which they have so many connections and ties of blood, interest, and affection, and which, it is well known, they all love much more than they love one another?

In short, there are so many causes that must operate to prevent it, that I will venture to say, an union amongst them for such a purpose is not merely improbable, it is impossible. And if the union of the whole is impossible, the attempt of a part must be madness; as those colonies that did not join the rebellion would join the mother country in suppressing it. When I say such an union is impossible, I mean, without the most grievous tyranny and oppression. People who have property in a country which they may lose, and privileges which they may endanger, are generally disposed to be quiet, and even to bear much,

rather than hazard all. While the government is mild and just, while important civil and religious rights are secure, such subjects will be dutiful and obedient. *The waves do not rise but when the winds blow.*

What such an administration as the duke of Alva's in the Netherlands might produce, I know not ; but this I think I have a right to deem impossible. And yet there were two very manifest differences between that case, and ours ; and both are in our favor. The *first*, that Spain had already united the seventeen provinces under one visible government, though the states continued independent : the *second*, that the inhabitants of those provinces were of a nation, not only different from, but utterly unlike the Spaniards. Had the Netherlands been peopled from Spain, the worst of oppression had probably not provoked them to wish a separation of government. It might, and probably would, have ruined the country ; but would never have produced an independent sovereignty. In fact, neither the very worst of governments, the worst of politics in the last century, nor the total abolition of their remaining liberty, in the provinces of Spain itself, in the present, have produced any independency in Spain, that could be supported. The same may be observed of France.

And let it not be said, that the neighborhood of these to the seat of government has prevented a separation. While our strength at sea continues, the banks of the Ohio (in point of easy and expeditious conveyance of troops) are nearer to London, than the remote parts of France and Spain to their respective capitals ; and much nearer than Connaught and Ulster were in the days of Queen Elizabeth. No body foretels the dissolution of the Russian monarchy from its extent ; yet I will venture to say, the eastern parts of it are already much more inaccessible from Petersburg, than the country on the Mississippi is from London ; I mean, more men, in less time, might be conveyed to the latter than the former distance. The rivers Oby, Jene-sea, and Lena, do not facilitate the communication half so well by their course, nor are they half so practicable as the

American rivers. To this I shall only add the observation of Machiavel, in his Prince; that a government seldom long preserves its dominion over those who are foreigners to it; who, on the other hand, fall with great ease, and continue inseparably annexed to the government of their own nation: which he proves by the fate of the English conquests in France. Yet with all these disadvantages, so difficult is it to overturn an established government, that it was not without the assistance of France and England, that the United Provinces supported themselves: which teaches us, that

6. *The French remaining in Canada, an encouragement to disaffections in the British Colonies.—If they prove a check, that check of the most barbarous nature.*

If the visionary danger of independence in our colonies is to be feared; nothing is more likely to render it substantial than the neighborhood of foreigners at enmity with the sovereign governments, capable of giving either aid, or an asylum, as the event shall require. Yet against even these disadvantages, did Spain preserve almost ten provinces,*

4 The aid Dr. Franklin alludes to must probably have consisted in early and full supplies of arms, officers, intelligence, and trade of export and of import, through the river St. Laurence, on risques both public and private; in the encouragement of splendid promises and a great ally; in the passage from Canada to the back settlements, being shut to the British forces; in the quiet of the great body of Indians: in the support of emissaries and discontented citizens; in loans and subsidies to congress, in ways profitable to France; in a refuge to be granted them in case of defeat, in vacant lands, as settlers; in the probability of war commencing earlier between England and France, at the Gulph of St. Laurence (when the shipping taken, were rightfully addressed to Frenchmen) than in the present case. All this might have happened, as soon as America's distaste of England had exceeded the fear of the foreign nation; a circumstance frequently seen possible in history, and which the British ministers took care should not be wanting.

This explanation would have been superfluous, had not the opinion been very general in England, that had not the French been removed from Canada, the revolt of America never would have taken place. Why then were the French not left in Canada, at the peace of 1763? Or, since they were not left there, why was the American dispute begun? Yet in one sense, perhaps this opinion is true; for had the French been left in Canada, the English ministers would not only have sooner felt, but sooner have seen, the strange fatality of their plans.

merely through their want of union ; which indeed could never have taken place among the others, but for causes, some of which are in our case impossible, and others it is impious to suppose possible.

The Romans well understood that policy, which teaches the security arising to the chief government from separate states among the governed ; when they restored the liberties of states of Greece (oppressed but united under Macedonia) by an edict, that every state should live under its own laws. They did not even name a governor. Independence of each other, and separate interests (though among a people united by common manners, language, and I may say religion ; inferior neither in wisdom, bravery, nor their love of liberty, to the Romans themselves ;) was all the security the sovereigns wished for their sovereignty. It is true, they did not call themselves sovereigns ; they set no value on the title ; they were contented with possessing the thing. And possess it they did, even without a standing army : (what can be a stronger proof of the security of their possession?) And yet by a policy, similar to this throughout, was the Roman world subdued and held : a world composed of above an hundred languages, and sets of manners, different from those of their masters. Yet this dominion was unshakable, till the loss of liberty and corruption of manners in the sovereign state overturned it.

But what is the prudent policy inculcated by the remarker to obtain this end, security of dominion over our colonies ? It is, to leave the French in Canada, to " check" their growth ; for otherwise, our people may increase infinitely from all causes." We have already seen in what manner the French and their Indians check the growth of our colonies. It is a modest word, this *check*, for massacring men, women, and children ! The writer would, if he could, hide from himself as well as from the public, the horror arising from such a proposal, by couching it in general terms : it is no wonder he thought it a " subject not fit for discussion" in his

letter; thought he recommends it as "a point that should be the constant object of the minister's attention!" But if Canada is restored on this principle, will not Britain be guilty of all the blood to be shed, all the murders to be committed, in order to check this dreaded growth of our own people? Will not this be telling the French in plain terms, that the horrid barbarities they perpetrate with Indians on our colonists are agreeable to us; and that they need not apprehend the resentment of a government, with whose views they so happily concur? Will not the colonies view it in this light? Will they have reason to consider themselves any longer as subjects and children, when they find their cruel enemies hallooed upon them by the country from whence they sprung; the government that owes them protection, as it requires their obedience? Is not this the most likely means of driving them into the arms of the French, who can invite them by an offer of security, their own government chuses not to afford them? I would not be thought to insinuate, that the remarker wants humanity. I know how little many good-natured persons are affected by the distresses of people at a distance, and whom they do not know. There are even those, who, being present, can sympathize sincerely with the grief of a lady on the sudden death of a favorite bird; and yet can read of the sinking of a city in Syria with very little concern. If it be, after all, thought necessary to check the growth of our colonies, give me leave to propose a method less cruel. It is a method of which we have an example in scripture. The murder of husbands, of wives, of brothers, sisters and children, whose pleasing society has been for some time enjoyed, affects deeply the respective surviving relations; but grief for the death of a child just born is short, and easily supported. The method I mean is that which was dictated by the Egyptian policy, when the "infinite increase" of the children of Isreal was apprehended as dangerous to the state⁶ Let an act of parliament then be made, enjoining

⁶ And Pharoah said unto his people, behold the people of the children of Isreal are more and mightier than we; come on, let us deal wisely with them,

the colony midwives to stifle in the birth every third or fourth child. By this means you may keep the colonies to their present size. And if they were under the hard alternative of submitting to one or the other of these schemes for checking their growth, I dare answer for them, they would prefer the latter.

But all this debate about the propriety or impropriety of keeping or restoring Canada is possibly too early. We have taken the capital indeed, but the country is yet far from being in our possession; and perhaps never will be: for if our ministers are persuaded by such counsellors as the remarker, that the French there are "not the worst of neighbors," and that if we had conquered Canada, we ought, for our own sakes, to restore it, as a check to the growth of our colonies; I am then afraid we shall never take it. For there are many ways of avoiding the completion of the conquest, that will be less exceptionable and less odious than the giving it up,

7. Canada easily peopled, without draining Great Britain of any of its inhabitants.

*The objection I have often heard, that if we had Canada we could not people it, without draining Britain of its inhabitants, is founded on ignorance of the nature of population in new countries. When we first began to colonize in America, it was necessary to send people, and to send seed-corn; but it is not now necessary that we should furnish, for a new colony, either one or the other. The annual increment alone of our present colonies, without diminishing their numbers, or requiring a man from hence, is sufficient in ten years to fill Canada with double the number of English that it now has of French inhabitants.*⁷

jest they multiply, and it come to pass, that when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land. And the king spake to the Hebrew midwives, &c. Exodus, chap. 1.

⁷ In fact, there have not gone from Britain itself to our colonies, these twenty years past to settle there, so many as ten families a year; the new settlers are either the offspring of the old, or emigrants from Germany, or the north of Ireland.

Those who are protestants among the French will probably choose to remain under the English government; many will choose to remove, if they can be allowed to sell their lands, improvements, and effects: the rest in that thin-settled country will in less than half a century, from the crowds of English settling round and among them, be blended and incorporated with our people both in language and manners.

8. *The merits of Guadaloupe to Great Britain over-valued yet likely to be paid much dearer for, than Canada.*

In Gaudaloupe the case is somewhat different; and though I am far from thinking⁸ we have sugar-land enough,⁹ I cannot think Guadaloupe is so desirable an increase of it, as other objects the enemy would probably be infinitely more ready to part with. A country, fully inhabited by any nation, is no proper possession for another of different languages, manners, and religion. It is hardly ever tenable at less expence than it is worth. But the isle of Cayenne, and its appendix, Equinoctial-France, having but very few inhabitants, and these therefore easily removed, would indeed be an acquisition every way suitable to our situation and desires. This would hold all that migrate from Barbadoes, the Leeward Islands, or Jamaica. It would certainly recal into an English government (in which there would be room for millions) all who have before settled or purchased in Martinico, Guadaloupe, Santa Cruz, or St. John's; except such as know not the value of an English government, and such I am sure are not worth recalling.

But should we keep Guadaloupe, we are told it would enable us to export 300,000*l.* in sugars. Admit it to be

⁸ Remarks, p. 30, 34.

⁹ It is often said we have plenty of sugar-land still unemployed in Jamaica: but those who are well acquainted with that island know, that the remaining vacant land in it, is generally situated among mountains, rocks, and gullies, that make carriage impracticable, so that no profitable use can be made of it; unless the price of sugars should so greatly increase, as to enable the planter to make very expensive roads, by blowing up rocks erecting bridges, &c. every two or three hundred yards. Many of these difficulties however, have been since overcome, by labor and perseverance.

true, though perhaps the amazing increase of English consumption might stop most of it here,—to whose profit is this to redound? To the profit of the French inhabitants of the island: except a small part, that should fall to the share of the English purchasers, but whose whole purchase-money must first be added to the wealth and circulation of France. I grant, however, much of this 300,000*l.* would be expended in British manufactures. Perhaps too, a few of the land-owners of Guadaloupe might dwell and spend their fortunes in Britain (though probably much fewer than of the inhabitants of North America.) I admit the advantage arising to us from these circumstances (as far as they go) in the case of Guadaloupe, as well as in that of our other West India settlements. Yet even this consumption is little better than that of an allied nation would be, who should take our manufactures and supply us with sugar, and put us to no great expence in defending the place of growth. But though our own colonies expend among us almost the whole produce of our sugar, *'can we, or ought we* to promise ourselves this will be the case of Guadaloupe? One 100,000*l.* will supply them with British manufactures; and supposing we can effectually prevent the introduction of those of France (which is morally impossible in a country used to them) the other 200,000*l.* will still be spent in France, in the education of their children and support of themselves; or else be laid up there, where they will always think their home to be.

Besides this consumption of British manufactures, *'much is said of the benefit we shall have from the situation of Guadaloupe*; and we are told of a trade to the Caraccas and Spanish Main. In what respect Guadaloupe is better situated for this trade than Jamaica, or even of our other islands, I am at a loss to guess. I believe it to be not so well situated for that of the windward coast, as Tobago and St. Lucia; which in this, as well as other respects, would be more valuable possessions, and which, I doubt not, the

peace will secure to us. Nor is it nearly so well situated for that of the rest of the Spanish Main as Jamaica. As to the greater safety of our trade by the possession of Guadalupe, experience has convinced us, that in reducing a single island, or even more, we stop the privateering business but little. Privateers still subsist, in equal if not greater numbers, and carry the vessels into Martinico, which before it was more convenient to carry into Guadalupe. Had we all the Caribbees, it is true, they would in those parts be without shelter.

Yet, upon the whole, I suppose it to be a doubtful point, and well worth consideration, whether our obtaining possession of all the Caribbees would be more than a temporary benefit; as it would necessarily soon fill the French part of Hispaniola with French inhabitants, and thereby render it five times more valuable in time of peace, and little less than impregnable in time of war, and would probably end in a few years in the uniting the whole of that great and fertile island under a French government. It is agreed on all hands, that our conquest of St. Christophers, and driving the French from thence, first furnished Hispaniola with skilful and substantial planters, and was consequently the first occasion of its present opulence. On the other hand, I will hazard an opinion, that valuable as the French possessions in the West Indies are, and undeniable as the advantages they derive from them, there is somewhat to be weighed in the opposite scale. They cannot at present make war with England, without exposing those advantages, while divided among the numerous islands they now have, much more than they would, were they possessed of St. Domingo only; their own share of which would, if well cultivated, grow more sugar, than is now grown in all their West-India islands.

I have before said, I do not deny the utility of the conquest, or even of our future possession of Guadalupe, if not bought too dear. The trade of the West Indies is one of our most valuable trades. Our possessions there deserve our greatest care and attention. So do those of North

America. I shall not enter into the invidious task of comparing their due estimation. It would be a very long, and a very disagreeable one, to run through every thing material on this head. It is enough to our present point, if I have shown, that the value of North America is capable of an immense increase, by an acquisition and measures, that must necessarily have an effect the direct contrary of what we have been industriously taught to fear; and that Guadaloupe is, in point of advantage, but a very small addition to our West-India possessions; rendered many ways less valuable to us, than it is to the French, who will probably set more value upon it, than upon a country [Canada] that is much more valuable to us than to them.

There is a great deal more to be said on all the parts of these subjects; but as it would carry me into a detail, that I fear would tire the patience of my readers, and which I am not without apprehensions I have done already, I shall reserve what remains till I dare venture again on the indulgence of the public.

ON PAPER MONEY.

Remarks and Facts relative to the American Paper-money^s.

IN the Report of the Board of Trade, dated February 9, 1764, the following reasons are given for *restraining the emission* of paper-bills of credit in America, as a *legal tender*.

1. "That it *carries the gold and silver out of the province, and so ruins the country; as experience has shewn,*

4 Dr. Franklin has often been heard to say, that in writing this pamphlet he received considerable assistance from a learned friend, who was not willing to be named.

5 The best account that can be given of the occasion of the Report, to which this paper is a reply, is as follows. During the war there had been a considerable and an unusual trade to America, in consequence of the great fleets and armies on foot there, and the clandestine dealings with the enemy, who were cut off from their own supplies. This made great debts. The briskness of the trade ceasing with the war, the merchants were anxious for payment, which occasioned some confusion in the colonies, and stirred up a clamor in England against paper-money. The board of trade, of which lord Hillsborough was the chief, joined in this opposition to paper-money, as appears by the report. Dr. Franklin being asked to draw up an answer to the report, wrote the paper given here.

in every colony where it has been practised in any great degree.

2. "That the *merchants* trading to America have *suffered* and lost by it.

3. "That the restriction of it *has had a beneficial effect* in New England.

4. "That every *medium of trade* should have an *intrinsic value*, which paper-money has not. Gold and silver are therefore the fittest for this medium, as they are an equivalent; which paper never can be.

5. "That *debtors* in the assemblies make paper-money with *fraudulent views*.

6. "That in the middle colonies, where the credit of the paper-money has been best supported, the bills have *never kept to their nominal value* in circulation; but have constantly depreciated to a certain degree, whenever the quantity has been increased."

To consider these reasons in their order; the first is,

1. "That *paper-money* carries the gold and silver out of the province, and so ruins the country; as experience has shewn, in every colony where it has been practised in any great degree."—This opinion, of its ruining the country, seems to be merely speculative, or not otherwise founded than upon misinformation in the matter of fact. The truth is, that the balance of their trade with Britain being greatly against them, the gold and silver are drawn out to pay that balance; and then the necessity of some medium of trade has induced the making of paper-money, which could *not* be carried away. Thus, if carrying out all the gold and silver ruins a country, every colony was ruined before it made paper-money.—But, far from being ruined by it, the colonies that have made use of paper-money have been, and are all in a thriving condition. The debt indeed to Britain has increased, because their numbers, and of course their trade, have increased; for all trade having always a proportion of debt outstanding, which is paid in its turn, while fresh debt is contracted, the proportion of debt naturally increases as the trade increases; but the improvement and

increase of estates in the colonies have been in a greater proportion than their debt. New England, particularly in 1696 (about the time they began the use of paper-money) had in all its four provinces but 130 churches or congregations ; in 1760 they were 530. The number of farms and buildings there is increased in proportion to the numbers of people ; and the goods exported to them from England in 1750, before the restraint took place, were near five times as much as before they had paper-money. Pennsylvania, before it made any paper-money, was totally stript of its gold and silver ; though they had from time to time, like the neighboring colonies, agreed to take gold and silver coins at higher nominal values, in hopes of drawing money into, and retaining it, for the internal uses of the province. During that weak practice, silver got up by degrees to 8s. 9d. per ounce, and English crowns were called six, seven, and eight shilling pieces, long before paper-money was made. But this practice of increasing the denomination was found not to answer the end. The balance of trade carried out the gold and silver as fast as they were brought in ; the merchants raising the price of their goods in proportion to the increased denomination of the money. The difficulties for want of cash were accordingly very great, the chief part of the trade being carried on by the extremely inconvenient method of barter ; when in 1723 paper-money was first made there, which gave new life to business, promoted greatly the settlement of new lands (by lending small sums to beginners on easy interest, to be repaid by instalments) whereby the province has so greatly increased in inhabitants, that the export from hence thither is now more than tenfold what it then was ; and by their trade with foreign colonies, they have been able to obtain great quantities of gold and silver to remit hither in return for the manufactures of this country. New York and New Jersey have also increased greatly during the same period, with the use of paper money ; so that it does not appear to be of the ruinous nature ascribed to it. And if the inhabitants of those countries are glad to have the use of paper among themselves, that

they may thereby be enabled to spare, for remittances hither, the gold and silver they obtain by their commerce with foreigners ; one would expect, that no objection against their parting with it could arise here, in the country that receives it.

• The 2d reason is, “ *That the merchants trading to America have suffered and lost by the paper-money.* ”—This may have been the case in particular instances, at particular times and places: as in South Carolina, about 58 years since ; when the colony was thought in danger of being destroyed by the Indians and Spaniards ; and the British merchants, in fear of losing their whole effects there, called precipitately for remittances ; and the inhabitants, to get something lodged in safe countries, gave any price in paper-money for bills of exchange ; whereby the paper, as compared with bills, or with produce, or other effects fit for exportation, was suddenly and greatly depreciated. The unsettled state of government for a long time in that province had also its share in depreciating its bills. But since that danger blew over, and the colony has been in the hands of the crown ; their currency became fixed, and has so remained to this day. Also in New England, when much greater quantities were issued than were necessary for a medium of trade, to defray the expedition against Louisbourg ; and, during the last war in Virginia and North Carolina, when great sums were issued to pay the colony troops, and the war made tobacco a poorer remittance, from the higher price of freight and insurance : in these cases, the merchants trading to those colonies may sometimes have suffered by the sudden and unforeseen rise of exchange. By slow and gradual rises, they seldom suffer ; the goods being sold at proportionable prices. But war is a common calamity in all countries, and the merchants that deal with them cannot expect to avoid a share of the losses it sometimes occasions, by affecting public credit. It is hoped, however, that the profits of their subsequent commerce with those colonies may have made them some reparation. And the merchants trading to the middle colonies (New

York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania) have never suffered by any rise of exchange ; it having ever been a constant rule there, to consider British debts as payable in Britain, and not to be discharged but by as much paper (whatever might be the rate of exchange) as would purchase a bill for the full sterling sum. On the contrary, the merchants have been great gainers by the use of paper-money in those colonies ; as it enabled them to send much greater quantities of goods, and the purchasers to pay more punctually for them. And the people there make no complaint of any injury done them by paper-money, with a legal tender ; they are sensible of its benefits ; and petition to have it so allowed.

The 3d reason is, “ *That the restriction has had a beneficial effect in New England.*” Particular circumstances in the New England colonies made paper-money less necessary and less convenient to them. They have great and valuable fisheries of whale and cod, by which large remittances can be made. They are four distinct governments ; but having much mutual intercourse of dealings, the money of each used to pass current in all : but the whole of this common currency not being under one common direction, was not so easily kept within due bounds ; the prudent reserve of one colony in its emissions being rendered useless by excess in another. The Massachusetts, therefore, were not dissatisfied with the restraint, as it restrained their neighbors as well as themselves ; and perhaps *they* do not desire to have the act repealed. They have not yet felt much inconvenience from it ; as they were enabled to abolish their paper-currency, by a large sum in silver from Britain to reimburse their expences in taking Louisbourg, which, with the gold brought from Portugal, by means of their fish, kept them supplied with a currency ; till the late war furnished them and all America with bills of exchange ; so that little cash was needed for remittance. Their fisheries too furnish them with remittance through Spain and Portugal to England ; which enables them the more easily to retain gold and silver in their country. The middle co-

lonies have not this advantage ; nor have they tobacco ; which in Virginia and Maryland answers the same purpose. When colonies are so different in their circumstances, a regulation, that is not inconvenient to one or a few, may be very much so to the rest. But the pay is now become so indifferent in New England, at least in some of its provinces, through the want of currency, that the trade thither is at present under great discouragement.

The 4th reason is, “ *That every medium of trade should have an intrinsic value ; which paper-money has not. Gold and silver are therefore the fittest for this medium, as they are an equivalent ; which paper never can be.*” However fit a particular thing may be for a particular purpose ; wherever that thing is not to be had, or not to be had in sufficient quantity ; it becomes necessary to use something else, the fittest that can be got, in lieu of it. Gold and silver are not the produce of North America, which has no mines ; and that which is brought thither cannot be kept there in sufficient quantity for a currency. Britain, an independent great state, when its inhabitants grow too fond of the expensive luxuries of foreign countries, that draw away its money, can, and frequently does, make laws to discourage or prohibit such importations ; and by that means can retain its cash. The colonies are dependent governments ; and their people having naturally great respect for the sovereign country, and being thence immoderately fond of its modes, manufactures, and superfluities, cannot be restrained from purchasing them by any province law ; because such law, if made, would immediately be repealed here, as prejudicial to the trade and interest of Britain. It seems hard therefore, to draw all their real money from them, and then refuse them the poor privilege of using paper instead of it. Bank bills and bankers notes are daily used *here* as a medium of trade, and in large dealings perhaps the greater part is transacted by their means ; and yet *they* have no intrinsic value, but rest on the credit of those that issue them ; as paper-bills in the colonies do on the credit of the respective governments there. Their being payable in cash upon sight by the drawer is in-

deed a circumstance that cannot attend the colony bills, for the reason just above-mentioned ; their cash being drawn from them by the British trade ; but the legal tender being substituted in its place, is rather a greater advantage to the possessor ; since he need not be at the trouble of going to a *particular bank* or banker to demand the money, finding (wherever he has occasion to lay out money in the province) a person that is obliged to take the bills. So that even out of the province, the knowlege, that every man within that province is obliged to take its money, gives the bills credit among its neighbors, nearly equal to what they have at home.

And were it not for the laws *here*, that restrain or prohibit as much as possible all losing trades, the cash of *this* country would soon be exported : every merchant, who had occasion to remit it, would run to the bank with all its bills, that came into his hands, and take out his part of its treasure for that purpose ; so that in a short time, it would be no more able to pay bills in money upon sight, than it is now in the power of a colony treasury so to do. And if government afterwards should have occasion for the credit of the bank, it must of necessity make its bills a legal tender ; funding them however on taxes which they may in time be paid off ; as has been the general practice in the colonies.—At this very time, even the silver-money in England is obliged to the legal tender for part of its value ; that part which is the difference between its real weight and its denomination. Great part of the shillings and six-pences now current are, by wearing become five, ten, twenty, and some of the six-pences even fifty per cent. too light. For this difference between the *real* and the *nominal*, you have no *intrinsic* value ; you have not so much as paper, you have nothing. It is the legal tender, with the knowlege that it can easily be repassed for the same value, that makes three-pennyworth of silver pass for sixpence. Gold and silver have undoubtedly *some* properties that give them a fitness above paper, as a medium of exchange : particularly their *universal estimation* ; especially in cases where a coun-

try has occasion to carry its money abroad, either as a stock to trade with, or to purchase *allies* and *foreign succours*. Otherwise, that very universal estimation is an inconvenience, which paper-money is free from ; since it tends to deprive a country of even the quantity of currency that should be retained as a necessary instrument of its internal commerce, and obliges it to be continually on its guard in making and executing, at a great expence, the laws that are to prevent the trade which exports it. Paper-money well funded has another great advantage over gold and silver ; its lightness of carriage, and the little room that is occupied by a great sum ; whereby it is capable of being more easily, and more safely, because more privately, conveyed from place to place. Gold and silver are not *intrinsically* of equal value with iron, a metal in itself capable of many more beneficial uses to mankind. Their value rests chiefly in the estimation they happen to be in among the generality of nations, and the credit given to the opinion, that that estimation will continue. Otherwise a pound of gold would not be a real equivalent for even a bushel of wheat. Any other well-founded credit, is as much an equivalent as gold and silver ; and in some cases more so, or it would not be preferred by commercial people in different countries. Not to mention again our own bank bills ; Holland, which understands the value of cash as well as any people in the world, would never part with gold and silver for credit (as they do when they put it into their bank, from whence little of it is ever afterwards drawn out) if they did not think and find the credit a full equivalent.

The 5th reason is, “ *That debtors in the assemblies make paper-money with fraudulent views.*” This is often said by the adversaries of paper-money, and if it has been the case in any particular colony, that colony should, on proof of the fact, be duly punished. This, however, would be no reason for punishing other colonies, who have *not* so abused their legislative powers. To deprive all the colonies of the convenience of paper-money, because it has been charged on some of them, that they have made it an instrument of

fraud, as if all the India, Bank, and other stocks and trading companies were to be abolished, because there have been, once in an age, Mississippi and South-Sea schemes and bubbles.

The 6th and last reason is, “ *That in the middle colonies, where the paper-money has been best supported, the bills have never kept to their nominal value in circulation; but have constantly depreciated to a certain degree, whenever the quantity has been increased.*” If the rising of the value of any particular commodity wanted for exportation, is to be considered as a depreciation of the values of *whatever remains* in the country; then the rising of silver above paper to that height of additional value, which its capability of exportation only gave it, may be called a depreciation of the paper. Even here, as bullion has been wanted or not wanted for exportation, its price has varied from 5s. 2d. to 5s. 8d. per ounce. This is near 10 per cent. But was it ever said or thought on such an occasion, that all the bank bills, and all the coined silver, and all the gold in the kingdom, were depreciated 10 per cent? Coined silver is now wanted here for change, and 1 per cent. is given for it by some bankers: are gold and bank notes therefore depreciated 1 per cent.? The fact in the middle colonies is really this: on the emission of the first paper money, a difference soon arose between that and silver; the latter having a property the former had not, a property always in demand in the colonies; to wit, its being fit for a remittance. This property having soon found its value, by the merchants bidding on one another for it, and a dollar thereby coming to be rated at 8s. in paper money of New York, and 7s. 6d. in paper of Pennsylvania, it has continued uniformly at those rates in both provinces now near forty years, without any variation upon new emissions; though, in Pennsylvania, the paper-currency has at times increased from 15,000*l.* the first sum, to 600,000*l.* or near it. Nor has any alteration been occasioned by the paper money, in the price of the necessaries of life, when compared with silver: they have been for the greatest part of the time no higher than before it was emitted; varying only

by plenty and scarcity, or by a less or greater foreign demand. It has indeed been usual with the adversaries of a paper-currency, to call every rise of exchange with London, a depreciation of the paper: but this notion appears to be by no means just: for if the paper purchases every thing but bills of exchange, at the former rate, and these bills are not above one-tenth of what is employed in purchases; then it may be more properly and truly said, that the exchange has risen, than that the paper has depreciated. And as a proof of this, it is a certain fact, that whenever in those colonies bills of exchange have been dearer, the purchaser has been constantly obliged to give more in silver, as well as in paper, for them; the silver having gone hand in hand with the paper at the rate above-mentioned; and therefore it might as well have been said, that the silver was depreciated.

There have been several different schemes for furnishing the colonies with paper money, that should *not* be a legal tender, viz.

1. *To form a bank, in imitation of the bank of England, with a sufficient stock of cash to pay the bills on sight.*

This has been often proposed, but appears impracticable, under the present circumstances of the colony-trade; which, as is said above, draws all the cash to Britain, and would soon strip the bank.

2. *To raise a fund by some yearly tax, securely lodged in the bank of England as it arises, which should (during the term of years for which the paper-bills are to be current) accumulate to a sum sufficient to discharge them all at their original value.*

This has been tried in Maryland: and the bills so funded were issued without being made a general legal tender. The event was, that as notes payable in time are naturally subject to a discount proportioned to the time: so these bills fell at the beginning of the term so low, as that twenty pounds of them became worth no more than twelve pounds in Pennsylvania, the next neighboring province; though both had been struck near the same time at the same nomi-

nal value, but the latter was supported by the general legal tender. The Maryland bills however began to rise as the term shortened, and towards the end recovered their full value. But, as a depreciating currency injures creditors, *this* injured debtors; and by its continually changing value, appears unfit for the purpose of money, which should be as fixed as possible in its own value; because it is to be the measure of the value of other things.

3. *To make the bills carry an interest sufficient to support their value.*

This too has been tried in some of the New England colonies; but great inconveniencies were found to attend it. The bills, to fit them for a currency, are made of various denominations, and some very low, for the sake of change; there are of them from 10*l.* down to 3*d.* When they first come abroad, they pass easily, and answer the purpose well enough for a few months; but as soon as the interest becomes worth computing, the calculation of it on every little bill in a sum between the dealer and his customers, in shops, warehouses, and markets, takes up much time, to the great hindrance of business. This evil, however, soon gave place to a worse; for the bills were in a short time gathered up and hoarded; it being a very tempting advantage to have money bearing interest, and the principal all the while in a man's power, ready for bargains that may offer; which money out on mortgage is not. By this means numbers of people became usurers with small sums, who could not have found persons to take such sums of them upon interest, giving good security; and would therefore not have thought of it; but would rather have employed the money in some business, if it had been money of the common kind. Thus trade, instead of being increased by such bills, is diminished; and by their being shut up in chests, the very end of making them (*viz.* to furnish a medium of commerce) is in a great measure, if not totally defeated.

On the whole, no method has hitherto been formed to establish a medium of trade, in lieu of money, equal in all its advantages, to bills of credit—funded on sufficient taxes

for discharging it, or on land-security of double the value, for repaying it at the end of the term; and in the mean time, made a GENERAL LEGAL TENDER.

Causes of the American Discontents before 1768.⁶

The waves never rise but when the winds blow.

PROV.

AS the cause of the present ill humor in America, and of the resolutions taken there to purchase less of our manufactures, does not seem to be generally understood, it may afford some satisfaction to your readers, if you give them the following short historical state of facts.

From the time that the colonies were first considered as capable of *granting aids to the crown*, down to the end of the last war, it is said, that the constant mode of obtaining those aids was, by requisition made from the crown, through its governors, to the several assemblies, in circular letters from the secretary of state, in his majesty's name, setting forth the occasion, requiring them to take the matter into consideration, and expressing a reliance on their prudence, duty, and affection to his majesty's government, that they would grant such sums, or raise such numbers of men, as were suitable to their respective circumstances.

The colonies, being accustomed to this method, have from time to time granted money to the crown, or raised troops for its service, in proportion to their abilities; and, during all the last war, beyond their abilities; so that considerable sums were returned them yearly by parliament, as they had exceeded their proportion.

Had this happy method of requisition been continued (a method that left the king's subjects in those remote countries the pleasure of showing their zeal and loyalty, and of imagining that they recommended themselves to their sovereign by the liberality of their voluntary grants) there is no

⁶ This letter first appeared in a London paper, January 7, 1768, and was afterwards reprinted as a postscript to "The true Sentiments of America," printed for Almon, 1768.

doubt, but all the money that could reasonably be expected to be raised from them in any manner, might have been obtained, without the least heart-burning, offence, or breach of the harmony of affections, and interests, that so long subsisted between the two countries.

It has been thought wisdom in a government exercising sovereignty over different kinds of people, to have *some regard to prevailing and established opinions* among the people to be governed, wherever such opinions might in their effects obstruct or promote public measures. If they tend to obstruct public service, they are to be changed, if possible, before we attempt to act against them; and they can only be changed by reason and persuasion. But if public business can be carried on without thwarting those opinions, if they can be, on the contrary, made subservient to it; they are not unnecessarily to be thwarted, however absurd such popular opinions may be in their nature.

This had been the wisdom of our government with respect to raising money in the colonies. It was well known, that the colonists universally were of opinion, that no money could be levied from English subjects but by their own consent, given by themselves or their chosen representatives; that therefore whatever money was to be raised from the people in the colonies must first be granted by their assemblies, as the money raised in Britain is first to be granted by the house of commons; that this right of granting their own money was essential to English liberty; and that if any man, or body of men, in which they had no representative of their own choosing, could tax them at pleasure, they could not be said to have any property, any thing they could call their own. But as these opinions did not hinder their granting money voluntarily and amply, whenever the crown, by its servants, came into their assemblies (as it does into its parliaments of Britain or Ireland) and demanded aids; therefore that method was chosen, rather than the hateful one of arbitrary taxes.

I do not undertake here to support these opinions of the Americans; they have been refuted by a late act of par-

liament, declaring its own power ; which very parliament, however, showed wisely so much tender regard to those inveterate prejudices, as to repeal a tax that had militated against them. And those prejudices are still so fixed and rooted in the Americans, that it has been supposed, not a single man among them has been convinced of his error, even by that act of parliament.

The person then, who first projected to lay aside the accustomed method of requisition, and to raise money on America by *stamps*, seems not to have acted wisely, in deviating from that method (which the colonists looked upon as constitutional) and thwarting unnecessarily the fixed prejudices of so great a number of the king's subjects. It was not, however, for want of knowlege, that what he was about to do would give them offence ; he appears to have been very sensible of this, and apprehensive that it might occasion some disorders ; to prevent or suppress which, he projected another bill, that was brought in the same session with the stamp act, whereby it was to be made lawful for military officers in the colonies to quarter their soldiers in private houses. This seemed intended to awe the people into a compliance with the other act. Great opposition however being raised here against the bill by the agents from the colonies and the merchants trading thither (the colonists declaring, that under such a power in the army, no one could look on his house as his own, or think he had a home, when soldiers might be thrust into it and mixed with his family at the pleasure of an officer) that part of the bill was dropped ; but there still remained a clause, when it passed into a law, to oblige the several assemblies to provide quarters for the soldiers, furnishing them with firing, bedding, candles, small beer or rum, and sundry other articles, at the expence of the several provinces. And this act continued in force when the stamp act was repealed ; though, if obligatory on the assemblies, it equally militated against the American principle above mentioned, that money is not to be raised on English subjects without their consent.

The colonies, nevertheless, being put into high good humor by the repeal of the stamp act, chose to avoid a fresh dispute upon the other, it being temporary and soon to expire, never, as they hoped, to revive again; and in the mean time they, by various ways in different colonies, provided for the quartering of the troops, either by acts of their own assemblies, without taking notice of the act of parliament, or by some variety or small diminution, as of salt and vinegar, in the supplies required by the act; that what they did might appear a voluntary act of their own, and not done in due obedience to an act of parliament, which, according to their ideas of their rights, they thought hard to obey.

It might have been well if the matter had then passed without notice; but a governor having written home an angry and aggravating letter upon this conduct in the assembly of his province, the outed proposer⁷ of the stamp act and his adherents (then in the opposition) raised such a clamor against America, as being in rebellion, and against those who had been for the repeal of the stamp act, as having thereby been encouragers of this supposed rebellion; that it was thought necessary to enforce the quartering act by another act of parliament, taking away from the province of New York (which had been the most explicit in its refusal) all the powers of legislation, till it should have complied with that act. The news of which greatly alarmed the people every where in America, as the language of such an act seemed to them to be—obey implicitly laws made by the parliament of Great Britain to raise money on you without your consent, or you shall enjoy no rights or privileges at all.

At the same time a person lately in high office⁸ projected the levying more money from America, by new duties on various articles of our own manufacture (as glass, paper, painters' colors, &c.) appointing a new board of customs, and sending over a set of commissioners, with large salaries, to be established at Boston, who were to have the care

⁷ Mr. George Grenville.

⁸ Mr. Charles Townsend.

of collecting those duties, which were by the act expressly mentioned to be intended for the payment of the salaries of governors, judges, and other officers of the crown in America; it being a pretty general opinion here, that those officers ought not to depend on the people there, for any part of their support.

It is not my intention to combat this opinion. But perhaps it may be some satisfaction to your readers, to know what ideas the Americans have on the subject. They say then, as to governors, that they are not like princes whose posterity have an inheritance in the government of a nation, and therefore an interest in its prosperity; they are generally strangers to the provinces they are sent to govern; have no estate, natural connection, or relation there, to give them an affection to the country; that they come only to make money as fast as they can; are sometimes men of vicious characters and broken fortunes, sent by a minister merely to get them out of the way; that as they intend staying in the country no longer than their government continues, and purpose to leave no family behind them, they are apt to be regardless of the good will of the people, and care not what is said or thought of them after they are gone. Their situation at the same time gives them many opportunities of being vexatious; and they are often so, notwithstanding their dependence on the assemblies for all that part of their support, that does not arise from fees established by law, but would probably be much more so, if they were to be supported by money drawn from the people without their consent or good-will, which is the professed design of this new act. That if by means of these forced duties, government is to be supported in America, without the intervention of the assemblies, their assemblies will soon be looked upon as useless; and a governor will not call them, as having nothing to hope from their meeting, and perhaps something to fear from their inquiries into, and remonstrances against, his mal-administration. That thus the people will be deprived of their most essential right. That it being (as at present) a governor's interest to

cultivate the good-will, by promoting the welfare of the people he governs, can be attended with no prejudice to the mother-country, since all the laws he may be prevailed on to give his assent to are subject to revision here, and if reported against by the board of trade, are immediately repealed by the crown ; nor dare he pass any law contrary to his instructions ; as he holds his office during the pleasure of the crown, and his securities are liable for the penalties of their bonds, if he contravenes those instructions. This is what they say as to governors.

As to *judges*, they allege, that being appointed from hence, and holding their commissions not during good behavior, as in Britain, but during pleasure : all the weight of interest or influence would be thrown into one of the scales (which ought to be held even) if the salaries are also to be paid out of duties raised upon the people without their consent, and independent of their assemblies approbation or disapprobation of the judges behavior. That it is true, judges should be free from all influence ; and therefore, whenever government here will grant commissions to able and honest judges during good behavior, the assemblies will settle permanent and ample salaries on them during their commissions ; but at present, they have no other means of getting rid of an ignorant or an unjust judge (and some of scandalous characters have, they say, been sometimes sent them) left, but by starving them out.

I do not suppose these reasonings of theirs will appear here to have much weight. I do not produce them with an expectation of convincing your readers. I relate them merely in pursuance of the task I have imposed on myself, to be an impartial historian of American facts and opinions.

The colonists being thus greatly alarmed, as I said before, by the news of the act for abolishing the legislature of New York, and the imposition of these new duties, professedly for such disagreeable purposes (accompanied by a new set of revenue officers, with large appointments, which gave strong suspicions, that more business of the same

kind was soon to be provided for them, that they might earn their salaries) began seriously to consider their situation; and to revolve afresh in their minds, grievances, which, from their respect and love for this country, they had long borne and seemed almost willing to forget. They reflected how lightly the interest of *all* America had been estimated here, when the interests of a *few* of the inhabitants of Great Britain happened to have the smallest competition with it. That the whole American people was forbidden the advantage of a direct importation of wine, oil, and fruit, from Portugal; but must take them loaded with all the expence of a voyage one thousand leagues round about, being to be landed first in England, to be re-shipped for America; expences amounting, in war-time, at least to thirty pounds per cent. more than otherwise they would have been charged with; and all this merely, that a few Portugal merchants in London may gain a commission on those goods passing through their hands. (Portugal merchants, by the bye, that can complain loudly of the smallest hardships laid on their trade by foreigners, and yet even in the last year could oppose with all their influence the giving ease to their fellow-subjects laboring under so heavy an oppression!) That on a slight complaint of a few Virginia merchants, nine colonies had been restrained from making paper money, become absolutely necessary to their internal commerce, from the constant remittance of their gold and silver to Britain.—But not only the interest of a particular body of *merchants*, but the interest of any small body of British *tradesmen or artificers* has been found, they say, to outweigh that of all the king's subjects in the colonies. There cannot be a stronger natural right than that of a man's making the best profit he can of the natural produce of his lands, provided he does not thereby hurt the state in general. Iron is to be found every where in America, and beaver are the natural produce of that country: hats, and nails and steel are wanted there as well as here. It is of no importance to the common welfare of the empire, whether a subject of the king gets his living by mak-

ing hats on this, or on that side of the water. Yet the hatters of England have prevailed to obtain an act in their own favor, restraining that manufacture in America; in order to oblige the Americans to send their beaver to England to be manufactured, and purchase back the hats, loaded with the charges of a double transportation. In the same manner have a few nail-makers, and still a smaller body of steel-makers (perhaps there are not half a dozen of these in England) prevailed totally to forbid by an act of parliament the erecting of slitting-mills, or steel furnaces in America; that the Americans may be obliged to take all their nails for their buildings, and steel for their tools, from these artificers, under the same disadvantages.⁹

Added to these, the Americans remembered the act authorising the most cruel insult that perhaps was ever offered by one people to another, that of *emptying our gaols* into their settlements; Scotland too have within these two years obtained the privilege it had not before, of sending its rogues and villains also to the plantations—I say, reflecting on these things, they said one to another (their news papers are full of such discourses) “These people are not content

⁹ The following pertinent note is from the fourth paragraph of the *American Farmer's* seventh letter, (written by the late John Dickenson.)

“Many remarkable instances might be produced of the extraordinary inattention with which bills of great importance concerning these colonies have passed in parliament; which is owing, as it is supposed, to the bills being brought in, by the persons who have points to carry, so artfully framed, that it is not easy for the members in general in the haste of business, to discover their tendency.

“The following instances show the truth of this remark.

“When Mr. Grenville, in the violence of reformation and innovation, formed the 4th George III. chap. 15th, for regulating the American trade, the word ‘Ireland’ was dropt in the clause relating to our iron and lumber, so that we could send these articles to no other part of Europe, but to Great Britain. This was so unreasonable a restriction, and so contrary to the sentiments of the legislature, for many years before, that it is surprising it should not have been taken notice of in the house. However the bill passed into a law. But when the matter was explained, this restriction was taken off in a subsequent act.

“I cannot say, how long after the taking off this restriction, as I have not the acts, but I think in less than eighteen months, another act of parliament passed, in which the word ‘Ireland’ was left out as it had been before. The matter being a second time explained was a second time regulated.

with making a monopoly of us (forbidding us to trade with any other country of Europe, and compelling us to buy every thing of them, though in many articles we could furnish ourselves ten, twenty, and even to fifty per cent. cheaper elsewhere ;) but now they have as good as declared they have a right to tax us *ad libitum*, internally and externally; and that our constitution and liberties shall all be taken away, if we do not submit to that claim.

“ They are not content with the high prices at which they sell us their goods, but have now begun to enhance those prices by new duties, and by the expensive apparatus of a new set of officers, appear to intend an augmentation and multiplication of those burthens, that shall still be more grievous to us. Our people have been foolishly fond of their superfluous modes and manufactures, to the impoverishing of our own country, carrying off all our cash, and loading us with debt; they will not suffer us to restrain the luxury of our inhabitants, as they do that of their own, by laws: they can make laws to discourage or prohibit the importation of French superfluities: but though those of England are as ruinous to us as the French ones are to them, if we make a law of that kind, they immediately repeal it. Thus they get all our money from us by trade; and

“ Now if it be considered, that the omission mentioned, struck off, with one word, so very great a part of our trade, it must appear remarkable: and equally so is the method by which rice became an enumerated commodity, and therefore could be carried to Great Britain only.”

“ The enumeration was obtained, (says Mr. Gee on Trade, p. 32) by one Cole, a captain of a ship, employed by a company then trading to Carolina; for several ships going from England thither, and purchasing rice for Portugal, prevented the aforesaid captain of a loading. Upon his coming home he possessed one Mr. Lowndes, a member of parliament, (who was frequently employed to prepare bills) with an opinion, that carrying rice directly to Portugal was a prejudice to the trade of England, and privately got a clause into an act to make it an enumerated commodity, by which means he secured a freight to himself. But the consequence proved a vast loss to the nation.”

“ I find that this clause, ‘ privately got into an act, for the benefit of Captain Cole, to the vast loss of the nation,’ is foisted into the 3d Anne, chapters 5th, intituled, ‘ an act for granting to her majesty a further subsidy on wines and merchandises imported,’ with which it has no more connection, than with 34th Edward I, 34th and 35th of Henry VIII. or the 25th Charles II. which provide that no person shall be taxed but by himself or his representatives.”

every profit we can any where make by our fisheries, our produce, or our commerce, centres finally with them ;—but this does not satisfy.—It is time then to take care of ourselves by the best means in our power. Let us unite in solemn resolution and engagements with and to each other, that we will give these new officers as little trouble as possible, by not consuming the British manufactures on which they are to levy the duties. Let us agree to consume no more of their expensive gewgaws. Let us live frugally, and let us industriously manufacture what we can for ourselves : thus we shall be able honorably to discharge the debts we already owe them ; and after that, we may be able to keep some money in our country, not only for the uses of our internal commerce, but for the service of our gracious sovereign, whenever he shall have occasion for it, and think proper to require it of us in the old constitutional manner.—For notwithstanding the reproaches thrown out against us in their public papers and pamphlets, notwithstanding we have been reviled in their senate as rebels and traitors, we are truly a loyal people. Scotland has had its rebellions, and England its plots against the present royal family ; but *America is untainted with those crimes* ; there is in it scarce a man, there is not a single native of our country, who is not firmly attached to his king by principle and by affection. But a new kind of loyalty seems to be required of us, a loyalty to parliament ; a loyalty, that is to extend, it is said, to a surrender of all our properties, whenever a house of commons, in which there is not a single member of our chusing, shall think fit to grant them away without our consent, and to a patient suffering the loss of our privileges as Englishmen, if we cannot submit to make such surrender. We were separated too far from Britain by the ocean, but we were united to it by respect and love ; so that we could at any time freely have spent our lives and little fortunes in its cause : but this unhappy new system of politics tends to dissolve those bands of union, and to sever us for ever.”

These are the wild ravings of the, at present, half-distracted Americans. To be sure, no reasonable man in Eng-

land can approve of such sentiments, and, as I said before, I do not pretend to support or justify them: but I sincerely wish, for the sake of the manufactures and commerce of Great Britain, and for the sake of the strength, which a firm union with our growing colonies would give us; that these people had never been thus needlessly driven out of their senses.

I am, yours, &c.

F. S.¹

Letter concerning the gratitude of America, and the probability and effects of an Union with Great Britain; and concerning the Repeal or Suspension of the Stamp-Act.²

Jan. 6, 1766.

SIR,

I HAVE attentively perused the paper you sent me, and am of opinion, that the measure it proposes, of an *union* with the colonies, is a wise one: but I doubt it will hardly be thought so here, till it is too late to attempt it. The

¹ F. S. possibly means Franklin's Seal. The paper, however, is undoubtedly the production of Dr. Franklin.

In the collection of tracts on the subjects of taxing the British colonies in America, and regulating their trade (printed in 1773, in 4 vols. 8vo. by Almon) are two papers, said there to have been published originally in 1739, and to have been drawn up by a club of American merchants, at the head of whom were sir William Keith (governor of Pennsylvania) Joshua Gee, and many other eminent persons. The *first* paper proposes the raising a small body of regular troops under the command of an officer appointed by the crown and independent of the governors (who were nevertheless to assist him in council on emergent occasions) in order to protect the Indian trade, and take care of the boundaries and back settlements. They were to be supported by a revenue to be established by *act of parliament*, in America; which revenue was to arise out of a duty on *stamp paper and parchment*. The *second* paper goes into the particulars of this proposed stamp duty, offers reasons for extending it over all the British plantations, and recites its supposed advantages. If these papers are at all genuine, Mr. George Grenville does not appear to have been original in conceiving *stamps* as a proper subject for his new tax. See *ib.* vol. I.

² The name of the person to whom this letter is addressed is not known. The letter, to which it is a reply, appears to have contained the letter of some third person equally unknown.

time has been, when the colonies would have esteemed it a great advantage, as well as honor to them, to be permitted to send members to parliament; and would have asked for that privilege, if they could have had the least hopes of obtaining it. The time is now come, when they are indifferent about it, and will probably not ask it, though they might accept it if offered them; and the time will come, when they will certainly refuse it. But if such an union were now established (which methinks it highly imports this country to establish) it would probably subsist as long as Britain shall continue a nation. This people, however, is too proud, and too much despises the Americans, to bear the thought of admitting them to such an equitable participation in the government of the whole. Then the *next best* thing seems to be, leaving them in the quiet enjoyment of their respective constitutions; and when money is wanted for any public service in which they ought to bear a part, calling upon them by requisitorial letters from the crown (according to the long established custom) to grant such aids as their loyalty shall dictate, and their abilities permit. The very sensible and benevolent author of that paper, seems not to have known, that such a constitutional custom subsists, and has always hitherto been practised in America; or he would not have expressed himself in this manner: "It is evident beyond a doubt, to the intelligent and impartial, that after the very extraordinary efforts, which were effectually made by Great Britain in the late war to save the colonists from destruction, and attended of necessity with an enormous load of debts in consequence, that the same colonists, now firmly secured from foreign enemies, should be somehow induced to contribute some proportion towards the exigencies of state in future." This looks as if he conceived the war had been carried on at the sole expence of Great Britain, and the colonies only reaped the benefit, without hitherto sharing the burthen, and were therefore now indebted to Britain on that account. And this is the same kind of argument that is used by those who would fix on the

colonies the heavy charge of unreasonableness and ingratitude, which I think your friend did not intend. Please to acquaint him then, that the fact is not so: that every year during the war, requisitions were made by the crown on the colonies for raising money and men; that accordingly they made *more extraordinary* efforts, in proportion to their abilities, than Britain did; that they raised, paid, and clothed, for five or six years, near 25,000 men, besides providing for other services (as building forts, equipping guard-ships, paying transports, &c.) And that this was more than their fair proportion is not merely an opinion of mine, but was the judgment of government here, in full knowledge of all the facts; for the then ministry, to make the burthen more equal, recommended the case to parliament, and obtained a reimbursement to the Americans of about 200,000*l.* sterling every year; which amounted only to about two-fifths of their expence; and great part of the rest lies still a load of debt upon them; heavy taxes on all their estates, real and personal, being laid by acts of their assemblies to discharge it, and yet will not discharge it in many years. While then these burthens continue: while Britain restrains the colonies in every branch of commerce and manufactures that she thinks interferes with her own; while she drains the colonies, by her trade with them, of all the cash they can procure by every art and industry in any part of the world, and thus keeps them always in her debt: (for they can make no law to discourage the importation of your to *them* ruinous superfluities, as *you* do the superfluities of France; since such a law would immediately be reported against by your board of trade, and repealed by the crown:) I say while these circumstances continue, and while there subsists the established method of royal requisitions, for raising money on them by their own assemblies on every proper occasion; can it be necessary or prudent to distress and vex them by taxes laid here, in a parliament wherein they have no representative, and in a manner which they look upon to be unconstitutional and subversive of their

most valuable rights; and are they to be thought unreasonable and ungrateful if they oppose such taxes? Where-with, they say, shall we show our loyalty to our gracious king, if our money is to be given by others, without asking our consent? And if the parliament has a right thus to take from us a penny in the pound, where is the line drawn that bounds that right, and what shall hinder their calling whenever they please for the other nineteen shillings and eleven pence? Have we then any thing that we can call our own? It is more than probable, that bringing representatives from the colonies to sit and act here as members of parliament, thus uniting and consolidating your dominions, would in a little time *remove* these objections and difficulties, and make the future government of the colonies easy: but, till some such thing is done, I apprehend no taxes, laid there by parliament here, will ever be collected, but such as must be stained with blood: and I am sure the profit of such taxes will never answer the expence of collecting them, and that the respect and affection of the Americans to this country will in the struggle be totally lost, perhaps never to be recovered; and therewith all the commercial and political advantages, that might have attended the continuance of this respect and this affection.

In my own private judgment I think an immediate repeal of the stamp-act would be the best measure for *this* country; but a suspension of it for three years, the best for *that*. The *repeal* would fill them with joy and gratitude, re-establish their respect and veneration for parliament, restore at once their ancient and natural love for this country, and their regard for every thing that comes from it; hence the trade would be renewed in all its branches; they would again indulge in all the expensive superfluities you supply them with, and their own new-assumed home industry would languish. But the *suspension*, though it might continue their fears and anxieties, would at the same time keep up their resolutions of industry and frugality; which in two or three years would grow into habits, to their lasting advantage. However, as

the repeal will probably not be now agreed to,³ from what I think a mistaken opinion, that the honor and dignity of government is better supported by persisting in a wrong measure once entered into, than by rectifying an error as soon as it is discovered; we must allow the next best thing for the advantage of both countries is, the suspension; for as to executing the act by force, it is madness, and will be ruin to the whole.

The rest of your friend's reasonings and propositions appear to me truly just and judicious; I will therefore only add, that I am as desirous of his acquaintance and intimacy, as he was of my opinion.

I am, with much esteem,

Your obliged Friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

*Letter from Governor Pownall to Dr. Franklin, concerning an equal communication of rights, privileges, &c. to America by Great Britain.*⁴

DEAR SIR,

THE following objection against communicating to the colonies the rights, privileges, and powers of the realm, as to parts of the realm, has been made. I have been endeavoring to obviate it, and I communicate it to you, in hopes of your promised assistance.

If, say the objectors, we communicate to the colonies the power of sending representatives, and in consequence expect them to participate in an *equal share and proportion* of all our taxes, we must grant to them all the powers of trade and manufacturing, which any other parts of the realm within the isle of Great Britain enjoy: if so, perchance, the profits of the Atlantic commerce may converge to some centre in America; to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, or to

³ It was however agreed to in the same year, viz. in 1766.

⁴ This letter bears no date. It was written possibly about the time that governor Pownall was engaged in publishing his book on the *administration of the colonies*.

some of the sales: if so, then the natural and artificial produce of the colonies, and in course of consequences the landed interest of the colonies will be promoted: while the natural and artificial produce and landed interest of Great Britain will be depressed, to its utter ruin and destruction; and consequently the balance of the power of government, although still *within the realm*, will be *locally* transferred from Great Britain to the colonies. Which consequence, however it may suit a citizen of the world, must be folly and madness to a Briton. My fit is gone off, and though weak, both from the gout and a concomitant and very ugly fever, I am much better.—Would be glad to see you.

Your Friend,

J. POWNALL.

On the back of the foregoing letter of Governor Pownall, are the following minutes by Dr. Franklin.

THIS objection goes upon the supposition, that whatever the colonies gain, Britain must lose; and that if the colonies can be kept from gaining an advantage, Britain will gain it:—

If the colonies are fitter for a particular trade than Britain, they should have it, and Britain apply to what it is more fit for. The whole empire is a gainer. And if Britain is not so fit or so well situated for a particular advantage, other countries will get it, *if the colonies do not*. Thus Ireland was forbid the woollen manufacture and remains poor; but this has given to the French the trade and wealth Ireland might have gained for the British empire.

The government cannot *long* be retained without the union. Which is best (supposing your case) to have a total separation, or a change of the seat of government?—It by no means follows, that promoting and advancing the landed interest in America will depress that of Britain: the contrary has always been the fact. Advantageous situations

and circumstances will always secure and fix manufactures: Sheffield against all Europe for these three hundred years past.—

Impracticability.

Danger of innovation.

.....

THE EXAMINATION OF DR. FRANKLIN.

*Before the English House of Commons, in February, 1766,
relative to the Repeal of the American Stamp Act.*

This examination of Dr. Franklin was printed in the year 1767, under the form of a shilling pamphlet. It is prior in point of date to some of the foregoing pieces; but this derangement, provides the reader with a knowledge of the proceedings on which the examination was grounded.

1766. Feb. 3. Benjamin Franklin, Esq. and a number of other persons were “ordered to attend the committee of the whole house of commons to whom it was referred, to consider farther the several papers relative to America which were presented to the house by Mr. secretary Conway, &c.”

Q. WHAT is your name, and place of abode?

A. Franklin, of Philadelphia.

Q. Do the Americans pay any considerable taxes among themselves?

A. Certainly many, and very heavy taxes.

Q. What are the present taxes in Pennsylvania, laid by the laws of the colony?

A. There are taxes on all estates real and personal; a poll tax; a tax on all offices, professions, trades, and businesses, according to their profits; an excise on all wine, rum, and other spirits; and a duty of ten pounds per head on all negroes imported, with some other duties.

Q. For what purposes are those taxes laid?

A. For the support of the civil and military establishments of the country, and to discharge the heavy debt contracted in the last war.

Q. How long are those taxes to continue?

A. Those for discharging the debt are to continue till 1772, and longer, if the debt should not be then all discharged. The others must always continue.

Q. Was it not expected that the debt would have been sooner discharged?

A. It was, when the peace was made with France and Spain. But a fresh war breaking out with the Indians, a fresh load of debt was incurred; and the taxes, of course, continued longer by a new law.

Q. Are not all the people very able to pay those taxes?

A. No. The frontier counties, all along the continent, having been frequently ravaged by the enemy and greatly impoverished, are able to pay very little tax. And therefore, in consideration of their distresses, our late tax laws do expressly favor those counties, excusing the sufferers; and I suppose the same is done in other governments.

Q. Are not you concerned in the management of the *post-office* in America?

A. Yes. I am deputy post-master general of North America.

Q. Don't you think the distribution of stamps *by post* to all the inhabitants very practicable, if there was no opposition?

A. The posts only go along the sea-coasts; they do not, except in a few instances, go back into the country; and if they did, sending for stamps by post would occasion an expence of postage, amounting in many cases, to much more than that of the stamps themselves.

Q. Are you acquainted with Newfoundland?

A. I never was there.

Q. Do you know whether there are any post-roads on that island?

A. I have heard that there are no roads at all, but that

the communication between one settlement and another is by sea only.

Q. Can you disperse the stamps by post in Canada?

A. There is only a post between Montreal and Quebec. The inhabitants live so scattered and remote from each other in that vast country, that posts cannot be supported among them, and therefore they cannot get stamps per post. The *English colonies* too along the frontiers are very thinly settled.

Q. From the thinness of the back settlements, would not the stamp act be extremely inconvenient to the inhabitants, if executed?

A. To be sure it would; as many of the inhabitants could not get stamps when they had occasion for them without taking long journeys, and spending perhaps three or four pounds, that the crown might get six-pence.

Q. Are not the colonies, from their circumstances, very able to pay the stamp duty?

A. In my opinion there is not gold and silver enough in the colonies to pay the stamp duty for one year.

Q. Don't you know that the money arising from the stamps was all to be laid out in America?

A. I know it is appropriated by the act to the American service; but it will be spent in the conquered colonies, where the soldiers are; not in the colonies that pay it.

Q. Is there not a balance of trade due from the colonies where the troops are posted, that will bring back the money to the old colonies?

A. I think not. I believe very little would come back. I know of no trade likely to bring it back. I think it would

5 "The stamp act said, that the Americans shall have no commerce, make no exchange of property with each other, neither purchase nor grant, nor recover debts; they shall neither marry nor make their wills, unless they pay such and such sums" in *specie* for the stamps which must give validity to the proceedings. The operation of such a tax, had it obtained the consent of the people, appeared inevitable; and its annual productiveness, on its introduction, was estimated by its proposer in the house of commons at the committee for

come from the colonies where it was spent, directly to England; for I have always observed, that in every colony the more plenty the means of remittance to England, the more goods are sent for, and the more trade with England carried on.

Q. What number of white inhabitants do you think there are in Pennsylvania?

A. I suppose there may be about one hundred and sixty thousand.

Q. What number of them are Quakers?

A. Perhaps a third.

Q. What number of Germans?

A. Perhaps another third; but I cannot speak with certainty.

Q. Have any number of the Germans seen service, as soldiers, in Europe?

A. Yes, many of them, both in Europe and America.

Q. Are they as much dissatisfied with the stamp duty as the English?

A. Yes, and more; and with reason, as their stamps are, in many cases, to be double.⁶

Q. How many white men do you suppose there are in North America?

supplies, at 100,000*l. sterling*. The colonies being already reduced to the necessity of having *paper-money*, by sending to Britain the specie they collected in foreign trade, in order to make up for the deficiency of their other returns for Britain's manufactures; there were doubts whether there could remain *specie* sufficient to answer the tax.

6 The stamp act provided that a double duty should be laid "where the instrument, proceedings, &c. shall be engrossed, written or printed within the said colonies and plantations, in any other than the English language." This measure, it is presumed, appeared to be suggested by motives of convenience, and the policy of assimilating persons of foreign to those of British descent and preventing their interference in the conduct of law business till this change should be effected. It seems however to have been deemed too precipitate, immediately to extend this clause to newly conquered countries. An exemption therefore was granted, in this particular, with respect to Canada and Grenada, for the space of five years, to be reckoned from the commencement of the duty. (See the British Stamp Act.)

A. About three hundred thousand, from sixteen to sixty years of age.

Q. What may be the amount of one year's imports into Pennsylvania from Britain?

A. I have been informed that our merchants compute the imports from Britain to be above 500,000*l*.

Q. What may be the amount of the produce of your province exported to Britain?

A. It must be small, as we produce little that is wanted in Britain. I suppose it cannot exceed 40,000*l*.

Q. How then do you pay the balance?

A. The balance is paid by our produce carried to the West Indies (and sold in our own islands, or to the French, Spaniards, Danes, and Dutch)—by the same produce carried to other colonies in North America, (as to New England, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Carolina, and Georgia)—by the same, carried to different parts of Europe, (as Spain, Portugal, and Italy.) In all which places we receive either money, bills of exchange, or commodities that suit for remittance to Britain; which, together with all the profits on the industry of our merchants and mariners, arising in those circuitous voyages, and the freights made by their ships, centre finally in Britain to discharge the balance, and pay for British manufactures continually used in the provinces, or sold to foreigners by our traders.

Q. Have you heard of any difficulties lately laid on the Spanish trade?

A. Yes, I have heard that it has been greatly obstructed by some new regulations, and by the English men of war and cutters stationed all along the coast in America.

Q. Do you think it right that America should be protected by this country, and pay no part of the expence?

1 Strangers excluded, some parts of the northern colonies doubled their numbers in fifteen or sixteen years; to the southward they were longer; but, taking one with another, they had doubled by natural generation only, once in twenty five years. Pennsylvania, *including strangers*, had doubled in about sixteen years. The calculation for February 1766, will not then suit 1779; nor for subsequent periods, though as general principles they will approach very near to each other.

A. That is not the case. The colonies raised, clothed, and paid, during the last war, near twenty-five thousand men, and spent many millions.

Q. Were you not reimbursed by parliament?

A. We were only reimbursed what, in your opinion, we had advanced beyond our proportion, or beyond what might reasonably be expected from us; and it was a very small part of what we spent. Pennsylvania, in particular, disbursed about 500,000*l.* and the reimbursements, in the whole, did not exceed 60,000*l.*

Q. You have said, that you pay heavy taxes in Pennsylvania, what do they amount to in the pound?

A. The tax on all estates, real and personal, is eighteen pence in the pound, fully rated; and the tax on the profits of trades and professions, with other taxes, do, I suppose, make full half-a-crown in the pound.

Q. Do you know any thing of the *rate of exchange* in Pennsylvania, and whether it has fallen lately?

A. It is commonly from one hundred and seventy, to one hundred and seventy-five. I have heard, that it has fallen lately from one hundred and seventy-five, to one hundred and sixty-two and a half; owing, I suppose, to their lessening their orders for goods; and when their debts to this country are paid, I think the exchange will probably be at par.

Q. Do not you think the people of America would submit to pay the stamp duty, if it was moderated?

A. No, never, unless compelled by force of arms.

Q. Are not the taxes in Pennsylvania laid on unequally, in order to burthen the English trade; particularly the tax on professions and business?

A. It is not more burthensome in proportion, than the tax on lands. It is intended, and supposed to take an equal proportion of profits.

Q. How is the assembly composed? Of what kinds of people are the members; landholders or traders?

A. It is composed of landholders, merchants, and artificers.

Q. Are not the majority landholders?

A. I believe they are.

Q. Do not they, as much as possible, shift the tax off from the land, to ease that, and lay the burthen heavier on trade?

A. I have never understood it so. I never heard such a thing suggested. And indeed an attempt of that kind could answer no purpose. The merchant or trader is always skilled in figures, and ready with his pen and ink. If unequal burthens are laid on his trade, he puts an additional price on his goods; and the consumers, who are chiefly landholders, finally pay the greatest part, if not the whole.

Q. What was the temper of America towards Great Britain *before the year 1763*?

A. The best in the world. They submitted willingly to the government of the crown, and paid, in their courts, obedience to acts of parliament. Numerous as the people are in the several old provinces, they cost you nothing in forts,

9 In the year 1733—"for the welfare and prosperity of our sugar colonies in America," and "for remedying discouragements of planters;" duties were "given and granted" to George the Second, upon all rum, spirits, molasses, syrups, sugar, and paneles of foreign growth, produce, and manufacture, imported into the colonies. This *regulation of trade*, for the benefit of the general empire was acquiesced in, notwithstanding the introduction of the novel terms "give and grant." But the act, which was made only for the term of five years, and had been several times renewed in the reign of George the Second, and once in the reign of George the Third; was renewed again in the year 1763, in the reign of George the Third; and *extended to other articles, upon new and altered grounds*. It was stated in the preamble to this act, "that it was expedient that new provisions and regulations should be established for *improving the revenue of this kingdom*;" that it was just and necessary that a revenue should be raised in America for defending, protecting, and securing the same;" "and that the commons of Great Britain desirous of making some provision towards *raising the said revenue* in America, have resolved to *give and grant* to his majesty, the several rates and duties, &c. Mr. Mauduit, agent for Massachusetts Bay, tells us, that he was instructed in the following terms to oppose Mr. Grenville's taxing system.—"You are to remonstrate against these measures, and, if possible, to obtain a repeal of the sugar act, and prevent the imposition of any further duties or taxes on the colonies. Measures will be taken that you may be joined by all the other agents." *Boston June 14, 1764.*"

The question proposed to Dr. Franklin alludes to this sugar act in 1763. Dr. Franklin's answer particularly merits the attention of the historian, and the politician.

citadels, garrisons, or armies, to keep them in subjection. They were governed by this country at the expence only of a little pen, ink, and paper: they were led by a thread. They had not only a respect, but an affection for Great Britain; for its laws, its customs, and manners, and even a fondness for its fashions, that greatly increased the commerce. Natives of Britain were always treated with particular regard; to be an *Old England-man* was, of itself, a character of some respect, and gave a kind of rank among us.

Q. And what is their temper now?

A. O, very much altered.

Q. Did you ever hear the authority of parliament to make laws for America questioned till lately?

A. The authority of parliament was allowed to be valid in all laws, except such as should lay internal taxes. It was never disputed in laying duties to regulate commerce.

Q. In what proportion had population increased in America?

A. I think the inhabitants of all the provinces together, taken at a medium, double in about twenty-five years. But their demand for British manufactures increases much faster; as the consumption is not merely in proportion to their numbers, but grows with the growing abilities of the same numbers to pay for them. In 1723, the whole importation from Britain to Pennsylvania was but about 15,000*l.* sterling; it is now near half a million.

Q. In what light did the people of America use to consider the parliament of Great Britain?

A. They considered the parliament as the great bulwark and security of their liberties and privileges, and always spoke of it with the utmost respect and veneration. Arbitrary ministers, they thought, might possibly, at times, attempt to oppress them; but they relied on it, that the parliament, on application, would always give redress. They remembered, with gratitude, a strong instance of this, when a bill was brought into parliament, with a clause, to make royal instructions laws in the colonies, which the house of commons would not pass, and it was thrown out.

Q. And have they not still the same respect for parliament?

A. No, it is greatly lessened.

Q. To what causes is that owing?

A. To a concurrence of causes; the restraints lately laid on their trade, by which the bringing of foreign gold and silver into the colonies was prevented; the prohibition of making paper-money among themselves,¹ and then demanding a new and heavy tax by stamps, taking away, at the same time, trials by juries, and refusing to receive and hear their humble petitions.

Q. Don't you think they would submit to the stamp act, if it was modified, the obnoxious parts taken out, and the duty reduced to some particulars, of small moment?

A. No, they will never submit to it.

Q. What do you think is the reason that the people in America increase faster than in England?

A. Because they marry younger, and more generally.

Q. Why so?

A. Because any young couple, that are industrious, may easily obtain land of their own, on which they can raise a family.

Q. Are not the lower rank of people more at their ease in America than in England?

A. They may be so, if they are sober and diligent; as they are better paid for their labor.

Q. What is your opinion of a future tax, imposed on the same principle with that of the stamp act? how would the Americans receive it?

A. Just as they do this. They would not pay it.

Q. Have not you heard of the resolutions of this house, and of the house of lords, asserting the right of parliament relating to America, including a power to tax the people there?

A. Yes, I have heard of such resolutions.

¹ Some of the colonies had been reduced to the necessity of bartering, from the want of a medium of traffic. See Essay on Paper-Money, p. 32. of this volume.

Q. What will be the opinion of the Americans on those resolutions?

A. They will think them unconstitutional and unjust.

Q. Was it an opinion in America before 1763, that the parliament had no right to lay taxes and duties there?

A. I never heard any objection to the right of laying duties to regulate commerce, but a right to lay internal taxes was never supposed to be in parliament, as we are not represented there.

Q. On what do you found your opinion, that the people in America made any such distinction?

A. I know that whenever the subject has occurred in conversation where I have been present, it has appeared to be the opinion of every one, that we could not be taxed by a parliament wherein we were not represented. But the payment of duties laid by an act of parliament as regulations of commerce, was never disputed.

Q. But can you name any act of assembly, or public act of any of your governments, that made such distinction?

A. I do not know that there was any; I think there was never an occasion to make any such act, till now that you have attempted to tax us: *that* has occasioned resolutions of assembly, declaring the distinction, in which I think every assembly on the continent, and every member in every assembly, have been unanimous.

Q. What then could occasion conversations on that subject before that time?

A. There was in 1754 a proposition made, (I think it came from hence,) that in case of a war, which was then apprehended, the governors of the colonies should meet, and order the levying of troops, building of forts, and taking every other necessary measure for the general defence; and should draw on the treasury here for the sums expended; which were afterwards to be raised in the colonies by a general tax, to be laid on them by *act of parliament*. This occasioned a good deal of conversation on the subject; and the general opinion was, that the parliament neither would nor could lay any tax on us, till we were duly repre-

sented in parliament ; because it was not just, nor agreeable to the nature of an English constitution.

Q. Don't you know there was a time in New York, when it was under consideration to make an application to parliament to lay taxes on that colony, upon a deficiency arising from the assembly's refusing or neglecting to raise the necessary supplies for the support of the civil government ?

A. I never heard of it.

Q. There was such an application under consideration in New York ;—and do you apprehend they could suppose the right of parliament to lay a tax in America was only local, and confined to the case of a deficiency in a particular colony, by a refusal of its assembly to raise the necessary supplies ?

A. They could not suppose such a case, as that the assembly would not raise the necessary supplies to support its own government. An assembly that would refuse it must want common sense ; which cannot be supposed. I think there was never any such case at New York, and that it must be a misrepresentation, or the fact must be misunderstood. I know there have been some attempts, by ministerial instructions from hence, to oblige the assemblies to settle permanent salaries on governors, which they wisely refused to do ; but I believe no assembly of New York, or any other colony, ever refused duly to support government by proper allowances, from time to time, to public officers.

Q. But in case a governor, acting by instruction, should call on an assembly to raise the necessary supplies, and the assembly should refuse to do it, do you not think it would then be for the good of the people of the colony, as well as necessary to government, that the parliament should tax them ?

A. I do not think it would be necessary. If an assembly could possibly be so absurd, as to refuse raising the supplies requisite for the maintenance of government among them, they could not long remain in such a situation ; the disorders and confusion occasioned by it must soon bring them to reason.

Q. If it should not, ought not the right to be in Great Britain of applying a remedy?

A. A right, only to be used in such a case, I should have no objection to; supposing it to be used merely for the good of the people of the colony.

Q. But who is to judge of that, Britain or the colony?

A. Those that feel can best judge.

Q. You say the colonies have always submitted to external taxes, and object to the right of parliament only in laying internal taxes; now can you show, that there is any kind of *difference between the two taxes* to the colony on which they may be laid?

A. I think the difference is very great. An *external tax* is a duty laid on commodities imported; that duty is added to the first cost and other charges on the commodity, and, when it is offered to sale, makes a part of the price. If the people do not like it at that price, they refuse it; they are not obliged to pay it. But an *internal tax* is forced from the people without their consent, if not laid by their own representatives. The stamp act says, we shall have no commerce, make no exchange of property with each other, neither purchase nor grant, nor recover debts; we shall neither marry nor make our wills, unless we pay such and such sums; and thus it is intended to extort our money from us, or ruin us by the consequences of refusing to pay it.

Q. But supposing the external tax or duty to be laid on the necessities of life imported into your colony, will not that be the same thing in its effects as an internal tax?

A. I do not know a single article imported into the *north-ern* colonies, but what they can either do without, or make themselves.

Q. Don't you think cloth from England absolutely necessary to them?

A. No, by no means absolutely necessary; with industry and good management, they may very well supply themselves with all they want.

Q. Will it not take a long time to establish that manufac-

ture among them ; and must they not in the mean while suffer greatly ?

A. I think not. They have made a surprising progress already. And I am of opinion, that before their old clothes are worn out, they will have new ones of their own making.

Q. Can they possibly find wool enough in North America ?

A. They have taken steps to increase the wool. They entered into general combinations to eat no more lamb ; and very few lambs were killed last year. This course, persisted in, will soon make a prodigious difference in the quantity of wool. And the establishing of great manufactories, like those in the clothing towns here, is not necessary, as it is where the business is to be carried on for the purposes of trade. The people will all spin, and work for themselves, in their own houses.

Q. Can there be wool and manufacture enough in one or two years ?

A. In three years, I think there may.

Q. Does not the severity of the winter, in the northern colonies, occasion the wool to be of bad quality ?

A. No, the wool is very fine and good.

Q. In the more southern colonies, as in Virginia, don't you know, that the wool is coarse, and only a kind of hair ?

A. I don't know it. I never heard it. Yet I have been sometimes in Virginia. I cannot say I ever took particular notice of the wool there, but I believe it is good, though I cannot speak positively of it ; but Virginia, and the colonies south of it, have less occasion for wool ; their winters are short, and not very severe ; and they can very well clothe themselves with linen and cotton of their own raising for the rest of the year.

Q. Are not the people in the more northern colonies obliged to fodder their sheep all the winter ?

A. In some of the most northern colonies they may be obliged to do it, some part of the winter.

Q. Considering the resolutions of parliament², as to the right; do you think, if the stamp act is repealed, that the North Americans will be satisfied?

A. I believe they will.

Q. Why do you think so?

A. I think the resolutions of *right* will give them very little concern, if they are never attempted to be carried into practice. The colonies will probably consider themselves in the same situation, in that respect with Ireland: they know you claim the same right with regard to Ireland, but you never exercise it. And they may believe you never will exercise it in the colonies, any more than in Ireland, unless on some very extraordinary occasion.

Q. But who are to be the judges of that extraordinary occasion? Is not the parliament?

A. Though the parliament may judge of the occasion, the people will think it can never exercise such right, till representatives from the colonies are admitted into parliament; and that, whenever the occasion arises, representatives will be ordered.

Q. Did you never hear that Maryland, during the last war, had refused to furnish a quota towards the common defence?

A. Maryland has been much misrepresented in that matter. Maryland, to my knowlege, never refused to contribute, or grant aids to the crown. The assemblies, every year during the war, voted considerable sums, and formed bills to raise them. The bills were, according to the constitution of that province, sent up to the council, or upper house, for concurrence, that they might be presented to the governor, in order to be enacted into laws. Unhappy disputes between the two houses—arising from the defects of that constitution principally—rendered all the bills but one or two abortive. The proprietary's council rejected them. It is true, Maryland did not then contribute its proportion; but it was, in my opinion, the fault of the government, not of the people.

² Afterwards expressed in the Declaratory Act.

Q. Was it not talked of in the other provinces as a proper measure, to apply to parliament to compel them?

A. I have heard such discourse; but as it was well known that the people were not to blame, no such application was ever made, nor any step taken towards it.

Q. Was it not proposed at a public meeting?

A. Not that I know of.

Q. Do you remember the abolishing of the paper-currency in New England, by act of assembly?

A. I do remember its being abolished in the Massachusetts' Bay.

Q. Was not lieutenant-governor Hutchinson principally concerned in that transaction?

A. I have heard so.

Q. Was it not at that time a very unpopular law?

A. I believe it might, though I can say little about it, as I lived at a distance from that province.

Q. Was not the *scarcity of gold and silver* an argument used against abolishing the paper?

A. I suppose it was³.

Q. What is the present opinion there of that law? Is it as unpopular as it was at first?

A. I think it is not.

Q. Have not instructions from hence been sometimes sent over to governors, highly oppressive and unpolitical?

A. Yes.

Q. Have not some governors dispensed with them for that reason?

A. Yes, I have heard so.

Q. Did the Americans ever dispute the controlling power of parliament to regulate the commerce?

A. No.

Q. Can any thing less than a military force carry the stamp act into execution?

A. I do not see how a military force can be applied to that purpose.

3 See the answer to the report of the board of trade, p. 82.

Q. Why may it not?

A. Suppose a military force sent into America, they will find nobody in arms; what are they then to do? They cannot force a man to take stamps who chooses to do without them. They will not find a rebellion: they may indeed make one.

Q. If the act is not repealed, what do you think will be the consequences?

A. A total loss of the respect and affection the people of America bear to this country, and of all the commerce that depends on that respect and affection.

Q. How can the commerce be affected?

A. You will find, that if the act is not repealed, they will take very little of your manufactures in a short time.

Q. Is it in their power to do without them?

A. I think they may very well do without them.

Q. Is it their interest not to take them?

A. The goods they take from Britain are either necessities, mere conveniences, or superfluities. The first, as cloth, &c. with a little industry they can make at home; the second they can do without, till they are able to provide them among themselves; and the last, which are much the greatest part, they will strike off immediately. They are mere articles of fashion, purchased and consumed, because the fashion in a respected country; but will now be detested and rejected. The people have already struck off, by general agreement, the use of all goods fashionable in mournings, and many thousand pounds worth are sent back as unsaleable.

Q. Is it their interest to make cloth at home?

A. I think they may at present get it cheaper from Britain, I mean of the same fineness and neatness of workmanship; but when one considers other circumstances, the restraints on their trade, and the difficulty of making remittances, it is their interest to make every thing.

Q. Suppose an act of internal regulations connected with a tax, how would they receive it?

A. I think it would be objected to.

Q. Then no regulation with a tax would be submitted to?

A. Their opinion is, that when aids to the crown are wanted, they are to be asked of the several assemblies, according to the old established usage; who will, as they always have done, grant them freely. And that their money ought not to be given away, without their consent, by persons at a distance, unacquainted with their circumstances and abilities. The granting aids to the crown is the only means they have of recommending themselves to their sovereign; and they think it extremely hard and unjust, that a body of men, in which they have no representatives, should make a merit to itself of giving and granting what is not its own, but theirs; and deprive them of a right they esteem of the utmost value and importance, as it is the security of all their other rights.

Q. But is not the post-office, which they have long received, a tax as well as a regulation?

A. No; the money paid for the postage of a letter is not of the nature of a tax; it is merely a *quantum meruit* for a service done; no person is compellable to pay the money, if he does not choose to receive the service. A man may still, as before the act, send his letter by a servant, a special messenger, or a friend, if he thinks it cheaper and safer.

Q. But do they not consider the regulations of the post-office, by the act of last year, as a tax?

A. By the regulations of last year the rate of postage was generally abated near thirty per cent. through all America; they certainly cannot consider such abatement as a tax.

Q. If an excise was laid by parliament, which they might likewise avoid paying, by not consuming the articles excised, would they then not object to it?

A. They would certainly object to it, as an excise is unconnected with any service done, and is merely an aid, which they think ought to be asked of them, and granted by them, if they are to pay it; and can be granted for them by no others whatsoever, whom they have not impowered for that purpose.

Q. You say, they do not object to the right of parliament, in laying duties on goods to be paid on their importation: now, is there any kind of difference between a duty on the *importation* of goods, and an excise on their *consumption*?

A. Yes; a very material one: an excise, for the reasons I have just mentioned, they think you can have no right to lay within their country. But *the sea* is yours; you maintain, by your fleets, the safety of navigation in it, and keep it clear of pirates: you may have therefore a natural and equitable right to some *toll* or duty on merchandises carried through that part of your dominions, towards defraying the expence you are at in ships to maintain the safety of that carriage.

Q. Does this reasoning hold in the case of a duty laid on the produce of their lands *exported*? And would they not then object to such a duty?

A. If it tended to make the produce so much dearer abroad, as to lessen the demand for it, to be sure they would object to such a duty; not to your right of laying it, but they would complain of it as a burthen, and petition you to lighten it.

Q. Is not the duty paid on the tobacco exported, a duty of that kind?

A. That, I think, is only on tobacco carried coastwise, from one colony to another, and appropriated as a fund for supporting the college at Williamsburg, in Virginia.

Q. Have not the assemblies in the West Indies the same natural rights with those in North America?

A. Undoubtedly.

Q. And is there not a tax laid there on their sugars exported?

A. I am not much acquainted with the West Indies; but the duty of four and a half per cent. on sugars exported was, I believe, granted by their own assemblies⁴.

4 See the note to Lord Howe's letter to our author.

Q. How much is the poll-tax in your province laid on unmarried men?

A. It is I think, fifteen shillings, to be paid by every single freeman, upwards of twenty-one years old.

Q. What is the annual amount of *all* the taxes in Pennsylvania?

A. I suppose about 20,000*l.* sterling.

Q. Supposing the stamp act continued and enforced, do you imagine that ill-humour will induce the Americans to give as much for worse manufactures of their own, and use them, preferable to better of ours?

A. Yes, I think so. People will pay as freely to gratify one passion as another, their resentment as their pride.

Q. Would the people at Boston discontinue their trade?

A. The merchants are a very small number compared with the body of the people, and must discontinue their trade, if nobody will buy their goods.

Q. What are the body of the people in the colonies?

A. They are farmers, husbandmen, or planters.

Q. Would they suffer the produce of their lands to rot?

A. No; but they would not raise so much. They would manufacture more, and plow less.

Q. Would they live without the administration of justice in civil matters, and suffer all the inconveniencies of such a situation for any considerable time, rather than take the stamps, supposing the stamps were protected by a sufficient force, where every one might have them?

A. I think the supposition impracticable, that the stamps should be so protected as that every one might have them. The act requires sub-distributors to be appointed in every county town, district, and village, and they would be necessary. But the *principal* distributors, who were to have had a considerable profit on the whole, have not thought it worth while to continue in the office; and I think it impossible to find sub-distributors fit to be trusted, who, for the trifling profit that must come to their share, would incur the odium, and run the hazard that would attend it; and if they could be found, I think it impracticable to protect the stamps in so many distant and remote places.

Q. But in places where they could be protected, would not the people use them, rather than remain in such a situation, unable to obtain any right, or recover by law, any debt?

A. It is hard to say what they would do. I can only judge what other people will think, and how they will act, by what I feel within myself. I have a great many debts due to me in America, and I had rather they should remain unrecoverable by any law, than submit to the stamp act. They will be debts of honor. It is my opinion the people will either continue in that situation, or find some way to extricate themselves, perhaps by generally agreeing to proceed in the courts without stamps.

Q. What do you think a sufficient military force to protect the distribution of the stamps in every part of America?

A. A very great force, I can't say what, if the disposition of America is for a general resistance.

Q. What is the number of men in America able to bear arms, or of disciplined militia?

A. There are, I suppose, at least.

[Question objected to. He withdrew. Called in again.]

Q. Is the American stamp act an equal tax on the country?

A. I think not.

Q. Why so?

A. The greatest part of the money must arise from law-suits for the recovery of debts, and be paid by the lower sort of people, who were too poor easily to pay their debts. It is therefore a heavy tax on the poor, and a tax upon them for being poor.

Q. But will not this increase of expence be a means of lessening the number of law-suits?

A. I think not; for as the costs all fall upon the debtor, and are to be paid by him, they would be no discouragement to the creditor to bring his action.

Q. Would it not have the effect of excessive usury?

A. Yes; as an oppression of the debtor.

Q. How many ships are there laden annually in North America with *flax-seed* for Ireland?

A. I cannot speak to the number of ships, but I know, that in 1752 ten thousand hogsheads of flax-seed, each containing seven bushels, were exported from Philadelphia to Ireland. I suppose the quantity is greatly increased since that time, and it is understood, that the exportation from New York is equal to that from Philadelphia.

Q. What becomes of the flax that grows with that flax-seed?

A. They manufacture some into coarse, and some into a middling kind of linen.

Q. Are there any *slitting-mills* in America?

A. I think there are three, but I believe only one at present employed. I suppose they will all be set to work, if the interruption of the trade continues.

Q. Are there any *fulling-mills* there?

A. A great many.

Q. Did you never hear, that a great quantity of *stockings* were contracted for, for the army, during the war, and manufactured in Philadelphia?

A. I have heard so.

Q. If the stamp-act should be repealed, would not the Americans think they could oblige the parliament to repeal every external tax-law now in force?

A. It is hard to answer questions of what people at such a distance will think.

Q. But what do you imagine they will think were the motives of repealing the act?

A. I suppose they will think, that it was repealed from a conviction of its inexpediency; and they will rely upon it, that while the same inexpediency subsists, you will never attempt to make such another.

Q. What do you mean by its inexpediency?

A. I mean its inexpediency on several accounts, the poverty and inability of those who were to pay the tax, the

general discontent it has occasioned, and the impracticability of enforcing it.

Q. If the act should be repealed, and the legislature should show its resentment to the opposers of the stamp-act, would the colonies acquiesce in the authority of the legislature? What is your opinion they would do?

A. I don't doubt at all, that if the legislature repeal the stamp-act, the colonies will acquiesce in the authority.

Q. But if the legislature should think fit to ascertain its right to lay taxes, by any act laying a small tax, contrary to their opinion, would they submit to pay the tax?

A. The proceedings of the people in America have been considered too much together. The proceedings of the assemblies have been very different from those of the mobs, and should be distinguished, as having no connection with each other. The *assemblies* have only peaceably resolved what they take to be their rights: they have taken no measures for opposition by force, they have not built a fort, raised a man, or provided a grain of ammunition, in order to such opposition. The ring-leaders of riots, they think ought to be punished: they would punish them themselves, if they could. Every sober, sensible man, would wish to see rioters punished, as otherwise peaceable people have no security of person or estate; but as to an internal tax, how small soever, laid by the legislature here on the people there, while they have no representatives in this legislature, I think it will never be submitted to: they will oppose it to the last: they do not consider it as at all necessary for you to raise money on them by your taxes; because they are, and always have been, ready to raise money by taxes among themselves, and to grant large sums, equal to their abilities, upon requisition from the crown. They have not only granted equal to their abilities, but, during all the last war, they granted far beyond their abilities, and beyond their proportion with this country (you yourselves being judges) to the amount of many hundred thousand pounds; and this they did freely and readily, only on a sort of promise, from the secretary of state, that it

should be recommended to parliament to make them compensation. It was accordingly recommended to parliament, in the most honorable manner for them. America has been greatly misrepresented and abused here, in papers, and pamphlets, and speeches,....as ungrateful, and unreasonable, and unjust; in having put this nation to immense expence for their defence, and refusing to bear any part of that expence. The colonies raised, paid, and clothed, near twenty-five thousand men during the last war; a number equal to those sent from Britain, and far beyond their proportion they went deeply into debt in doing this, and all their taxes and estates are mortgaged, for many years to come, for discharging that debt. Government here was at that time very sensible of this. The colonies were recommended to parliament. Every year the king sent down to the house a written message to this purpose, "that his majesty, being highly sensible of the zeal and vigor with which his faithful subjects in North America had exerted themselves, in defence of his majesty's just rights and possessions; recommended it to the house to take the same into consideration, and enable him to give them a proper compensation." You will find those messages on your own journals every year of the war to the very last; and you did accordingly give 200,000*l.* annually to the crown, to be distributed in such compensation to the colonies. This is the strongest of all proofs that the colonies, far from being unwilling to bear a share of the burthen, did exceed their proportion; for if they had done less, or had only equalled their proportion, there would have been no room or reason for compensation. Indeed the sums, reimbursed them, were by no means adequate to the expence they incurred beyond their proportion: but they never murmured at that; they esteemed their sovereign's approbation of their zeal and fidelity, and the approbation of this house, far beyond any other kind of compensation, therefore there was no occasion for this act, to force money from a willing people: they had not refused giving money for the purposes of the act, no requisition had been made, they were always willing and ready

to do what could reasonably be expected from them, and in this light they wish to be considered.

Q. But suppose Great Britain should be engaged in a war in Europe; would North America contribute to the support of it?

A. I do think they would, as far as their circumstances would permit. They consider themselves as a part of the British empire, and as having one common interest with it: they may be looked on here as foreigners, but they do not consider themselves as such. They are zealous for the honor and prosperity of this nation; and, while they are well used, will always be ready to support it, as far as their little power goes.—In 1739 they were called upon to assist in the expedition against Carthagena, and they sent three thousand men to join your army.⁶ It is true Carthagena is in America, but as remote from the northern colonies, as if it had been in Europe. They make no distinction of wars, as to their duty of assisting in them. I know the last war is commonly spoken of here as entered into for the defence, or for the sake of the people in America. I think it is quite misunderstood. It began about the limits between Canada and Nova Scotia; about territories to which the crown indeed laid claim, but which were not claimed by any British colony; none of the lands had been granted to any colonist, we had therefore no particular concern or interest in that dispute.—As to the Ohio, the contest there began about your right of trading in the Indian country, a right you had by the treaty of Utrecht, which the French infringed; they seized the traders and their goods, which were your manufactures; they took a fort which a company of your merchants, and their factors, and correspondents, had erected there, to secure that trade. Bradflock was sent with an army to retake that fort (which was looked on here as another incroachment on the king's territory) and to protect your trade. It was not till after his defeat that the colonies were

⁶ Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth commanded this expedition; with what success, is well known.

attacked. They were before in perfect peace with both French and Indians; the troops were not therefore sent for their defence. The trade with the Indians, though carried on in America, is not an *American interest*. The people of America are chiefly farmers and planters, scarce any thing that they raise or produce is an article of commerce with the Indians. The Indian trade is a *British interest*; it is carried on with British manufactures, for the profit of British merchants and manufacturers; therefore the war, as it commenced for the defence of territories of the crown (the property of no American) and for the defence of a trade purely British, was really a British war—and yet the people of America made no scruple of contributing their utmost towards carrying it on, and bringing it to a happy conclusion.

Q. Do you think then that the taking possession of the king's territorial rights, and *strengthening the frontiers*, is not an American interest?

A. Not particularly, but conjointly a British and an American interest.

Q. You will not deny that the preceding war, the *war with Spain*, was entered into for the sake of America; was it not occasioned by captures made in the American seas?

A. Yes; captures of ships carrying on the British trade there with British manufactures.

Q. Was not the *late war with the Indians*, since the peace with France, a war for America only?

A. Yes; it was more particularly for America than the former; but it was rather a consequence or remains of the former war, the Indians not having been thoroughly pacified; and the Americans bore by much the greatest share of the expence. It was put an end to by the army under general Bouquet; there were not above three hundred re-

7 When this army was in the utmost distress from the want of waggons, &c. our author and his son voluntarily traversed the country, in order to collect a sufficient quantity; and they had zeal and address enough to effect their purpose, upon pledging themselves, to the amount of many thousand pounds, for payment. It was but just before Dr. Franklin's last return from England to America, that the accounts in this transaction were passed at the British Treasury.

gulars in that army, and above one thousand Pennsylvanians.

Q. Is it not necessary to send troops to America, to defend the Americans against the Indians?

A. No, by no means; it never was necessary. They defended themselves when they were but an handful, and the Indians much more numerous. They continually gained ground, and have driven the Indians over the mountains, without any troops sent to their assistance from this country. And can it be thought necessary now to send troops for their defence from those diminished Indian tribes, when the colonies are become so populous, and so strong? There is not the least occasion for it, they are very able to defend themselves.

Q. Do you say there were not more than three hundred regular troops employed in the late Indian war?

A. Not on the Ohio, or the frontiers of Pennsylvania, which was the chief part of the war that affected the colonies. There were garrisons at Niagara, Fort Detroit, and those remote posts kept for the sake of your trade; I did not reckon them; but I believe that on the whole the number of Americans or provincial troops, employed in the war, was greater than that of the regulars. I am not certain, but I think so.

Q. Do you think the assemblies have a right to levy money on the subject there, to grant to the crown?

A. I certainly think so, they have always done it.

Q. Are they acquainted with the declaration of rights? And do they know that, by that statute, money is not to be raised on the subject but by consent of parliament?

A. They are very well acquainted with it.

Q. How then can they think they have a right to levy money for the crown, or for any other than local purposes?

A. They understand that clause to relate to subjects only within the realm; that no money can be levied on them for the crown, but by consent of parliament. *The colonies* are not supposed to be within the realm; they have assemblies of their own, which are their parliaments, and they are, in

that respect, in the same situation with Ireland. When money is to be raised for the crown upon the subject in Ireland, or in the colonies, the consent is given in the parliament of Ireland, or in the assemblies of the colonies. They think the parliament of Great Britain cannot properly give that consent, till it has representatives from America; for, the petition of right expressly says, it is to be by *common consent in parliament*; and the people of America have no representatives in parliament, to make a part of that common consent.

Q. If the stamp act should be repealed, and an act should pass, ordering the assemblies of the colonies to indemnify the sufferers by the riots, would they obey it?

A. That is a question I cannot answer.

Q. Suppose the king should require the colonies to grant a revenue, and the parliament should be against their doing it, do they think they can grant a revenue to the king, *without* the consent of the parliament of Great Britain?

A. That is a deep question. As to my own opinion, I should think myself at liberty to do it, and should do it, if I liked the occasion.

Q. When money has been raised in the colonies, upon requisitions, has it not been granted to the king?

A. Yes, always; but the requisitions have generally been for some service expressed, as to raise, clothe, and pay troops, and not for money only.

Q. If the act should pass, requiring the American assemblies to make compensation to the sufferers, and they should disobey it, and then the parliament, should, by another act, lay an internal tax, would they then obey it?

A. The people will pay no internal tax; and I think an act to oblige the assemblies to make compensation is unnecessary; for I am of opinion, that as soon as the present heats are abated, they will take the matter into consideration, and if it is right to be done, they will do it of themselves.

Q. Do not letters often come into the post-offices in America directed to some inland town where no post goes?

A. Yes.

Q. Can any private person take up those letters and carry them as directed?

A. Yes; any friend of the person may do it, paying the postage that has accrued.

Q. But must not he pay an additional postage for the distance to such inland town?

A. No.

Q. Can the post-master answer delivering the letter, without being paid such additional postage?

A. Certainly he can demand nothing, where he does no service.

Q. Suppose a person, being far from home, finds a letter in a post-office directed to him, and he lives in a place to which the post generally goes, and the letter is directed to that place, will the post-master deliver him the letter, without his paying the postage receivable at the place to which the letter is directed?

A. Yes; the office cannot demand postage for a letter that it does not carry, or farther than it does carry it.

Q. Are not ferry-men in America obliged, by act of parliament, to carry over the posts without pay?

A. Yes.

Q. Is not this a tax on the ferry-men?

A. They do not consider it as such, as they have an advantage from persons travelling with the post.

Q. If the stamp-act should be repealed, and the crown should make a requisition to the colonies for a sum of money would they grant it?

A. I believe they would.

Q. Why do you think so?

A. I can speak for the colony I live in; I had it in instruction from the assembly to assure the ministry, that as they always had done, so they should always think it their duty, to grant such aids to the crown as were suitable to their circumstances and abilities, whenever called upon for that purpose, in the usual constitutional manner; and I had the

honor of communicating this instruction to that honorable gentleman then minister.³

Q. Would they do this for a British concern, as suppose a war in some part of Europe, that did not affect them?

A. Yes, for any thing that concerned the general interest. They consider themselves as part of the whole.

Q. What is the usual constitutional manner of calling on the colonies for aids?

A. A letter from the secretary of state.

Q. Is this all you mean; a letter from the secretary of state?

A. I mean the usual way of requisition, in a circular letter from the secretary of state, by his majesty's command, reciting the occasion, and recommending it to the colonies to grant such aids as became their loyalty, and were suitable to their abilities.

Q. Did the secretary of state ever write for money for the crown?

A. The requisitions have been to raise, clothe, and pay men, which cannot be done without money.

Q. Would they grant money alone, if called on?

³ The following appears to be the history of this transaction:

Until 1763, and the years following, whenever Great Britain wanted supplies directly from the colonies, the secretary of state, in his majesty's name, sent them a letter of requisition, in which the occasion for the supplies was expressed; and the colonies returned a *free gift*, the mode of levying which they wholly prescribed. At this period, a chancellor of the exchequer (Mr. George Grenville) steps forth and says to the house of commons: *We must call for money from the colonies in the way of a tax;—and to the colony-agents write to your several colonies, and tell them, if they dislike a duty upon stamps, and prefer any other method of raising the money themselves, I shall be content, provided the amount be but raised.* "That is," observed the colonies, when commenting upon his terms, "if we will not tax ourselves, as we may be directed, the parliament will tax us," Dr. Franklin's instructions, spoken of above; related to this gracious option. As the colonies could not choose "another tax," while they disclaimed every tax; the parliament passed the stamp-act.

It seems that the only part of the offer which bore a show of favor, was the grant of the *mode of levying*—and this was the only circumstance which was *not new*.

See Mr. Mauduit's account of Mr. Grenville's conference with the agents, confirmed by the agents for Georgia and Virginia, and Mr. Burke's speech, in 1774, p. 55.

A. In my opinion they would, money as well as men, when they have money, or can make it.

Q. If the parliament should repeal the stamp act, will the assembly of Pennsylvania rescind their resolutions?

A. I think not.

Q. Before there was any thought of the stamp act, did they wish for a representation in parliament?

A. No.

Q. Don't you know that there is, in the Pennsylvanian charter, an express reservation of the right of parliament to lay taxes there?

A. I know there is a clause in the charter, by which the king grants that he will levy no taxes on the inhabitants, unless it be with the consent of the assembly, or by act of parliament.

Q. How then could the assembly of Pennsylvania assert, that laying a tax on them by the stamp act was an infringement of their rights?

A. They understand it thus: by the same charter, and otherwise, they are intitled to all the privileges and liberties of Englishmen; they find in the great charters, and the petition and declaration of rights, that one of the privileges of English subjects is, that they are not to be taxed but by their *common consent*; they have therefore relied upon it, from the first settlement of the province, that the parliament never would, nor could, by color of that clause in the charter, assume a right of taxing them, *till* it had qualified itself to exercise such right, by admitting representatives from the people to be taxed, who ought to make a part of that common consent.

Q. Are there any words in the charter that justify that construction?

A. The common rights of Englishmen, as declared by Magna Charta, and the Petition of Right, all justify it.

Q. Does the distinction between internal and external taxes exist in the words of the charter?

A. No, I believe not.

Q. Then may they not, by the same interpretation object to the parliament's right of external taxation?

A. They never *have* hitherto. Many arguments have been lately used here to show them that there is no difference, and that if you have no right to tax them internally, you have ~~none~~ to tax them externally, or make any other law to bind them. At present they do not reason so; but in time they may possibly be convinced by these arguments.

Q. Do not the resolutions of the Pennsylvania assembly say,—all taxes?

A. If they do, they mean only internal taxes; the same words have not always the same meaning here and in the colonies. By taxes they mean internal taxes; by duties they mean customs; these are their ideas of the language.

Q. Have you not seen the resolutions of the Massachusetts Bay assembly?

A. I have.

Q. Do they not say, that neither external nor internal taxes can be laid on them by parliament?

A. I don't know that they do; I believe not.

Q. If the same colony should say, neither tax nor imposition could be laid, does not that province hold the power of parliament can lay neither?

A. I suppose that by the word imposition, they do not intend to express duties to be laid on goods imported, as *regulations of commerce*.

Q. What can the colonies mean then by imposition as distinct from taxes?

A. They may mean many things, as impressing of men, or of carriages, quartering troops on private houses, and the like; there may be great impositions that are not properly taxes.

Q. Is not the post-office rate an internal tax laid by act of parliament?

A. I have answered that.

Q. Are all parts of the colonies equally able to pay taxes?

A. No, certainly; the frontier parts, which have been ravaged by the enemy, are greatly disabled by that means; and therefore, in such cases, are usually favored in our tax-laws.

Q. Can we, at this distance, be competent judges of what favors are necessary?

A. The parliament have supposed it, by claiming a right to make tax-laws for America; I think it impossible.

Q. Would the repeal of the stamp act be any discouragement of your manufactures? Will the people that have begun to manufacture decline it?

A. Yes, I think they will; especially if, at the same time, the trade is opened again, so that remittances can be easily made. I have known several instances that make it probable. In the war before last, tobacco being low, and making little remittance, the people of Virginia went generally into family-manufactures. Afterwards, when tobacco bore a better price, they returned to the use of British manufactures. So fulling-mills were very much disused in the last war in Pennsylvania, because bills were then plenty, and remittances could easily be made to Britain for English cloth and other goods.

Q. If the stamp act should be repealed, would it induce the assemblies of America to acknowledge the rights of parliament to tax them, and would they erase their resolutions?

A. No, never.

Q. Are there no means of obliging them to erase those resolutions?

A. None that I know of; they will never do it, unless compelled by force of arms.

Q. Is there a power on earth that can force them to erase them?

A. No power, how great soever, can force men to change their opinions.

Q. Do they consider the post-office as a tax, or as a regulation?

A. Not as a tax, but as a regulation and convenience; every assembly encouraged it, and supported it in its infancy, by grants of money, which they would not otherwise have done; and the people have always paid the postage.

Q. When did you receive the instructions you mentioned?

A. I brought them with me, when I came to England, about fifteen months since.

Q. When did you communicate that instruction to the minister?

A. Soon after my arrival,—while the stamping of America was under consideration, and *before* the bill was brought in.

Q. Would it be most for the interest of Great Britain, to employ the hands of Virginia in tobacco, or in manufactures?

A. In tobacco, to be sure.

Q. What used to be the pride of the Americans?

A. To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain.

Q. What is now their pride?

A. To wear their old clothes over again, till they can make new ones.

Feb. 13. Benjamin Franklin, Esq. having passed through his examination, was exempted from farther attendance.

Withdrew.

Feb. 24. The resolution of the committee were reported by the chairman, Mr. Fuller, their *seventh* and last resolution setting forth “that it was their opinion that the house be moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to repeal the stamp act.” A proposal for re-committing this resolution was negatived by 240 votes to 133. (See the Journals of the House Commons.)

4 See p. 294.

ACCOUNT OF GOVERNOR HUTCHINSON'S LETTERS.

AND

The Examination of Dr. Franklin before a Committee of the British Privy-council.

These transactions are inseparable in their origin, and arise out of, and are again blended with each other, in their progress; and they require to be so placed in connexion, which they never yet have been, as to illustrate the events to which they belong. For this purpose the transactions are here narrated, in the order in which they arose, the narration of the editor will be easily discriminated from the correspondence and the examinations of the author.

Governor Hutchinson, lieutenant governor Andrew Oliver, Charles Paxton, Esq. Nathaniel Rogers, Esq. and Mr. G. Roome, having sent from Boston certain representations and informations to Thomas Whately, Esq. member of parliament, private secretary to that Mr. George Grenville, who when in office was the father of the stamp act, and afterwards one of the lords of trade; these letters were placed by some friend to the interests of America, in the hands of Dr. Franklin, who as an agent for the colonies, in discharge of his duty, had them conveyed back to Boston. The assembly of Massachusetts were so much exasperated, that they returned attested copies of the letters to England accompanied by a petition and remonstrance, for the removal of governor Hutchinson, and lieutenant governor Andrew Oliver, from their posts. The council of Massachusetts likewise, on their own part, entered into thirteen resolves, in tendency and import similar to the petition of the assembly; five of which resolves were unanimous, and only one of them had so many as three dissentients. In consequence of the assembly's petition, the following proceedings and examination took place.

Dr. Franklin had, from his station of agent for Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, naturally a large share in these transactions, having been also exposed to much indecent persecution, and attacks upon his character, by the ministers and their dependants, was called upon by the natural con-

stancy and vigor of his mind, to sustain himself and the trusts confided to him; and entered resolutely into those affairs. His examination in 1766, had made an indelible impression on the government, from its force, its truth; the capacity and equanimity of the man, and the jealousy excited by the overwhelming evidence he gave, which proved so clearly the ignorance of ministers and the impolicy of their measures towards America, caused him thenceforth to be looked upon with an eye of suspicion, if not of hatred. In this temper of the ministers it was that he addressed the following letter, with the memorial, to the secretary of state.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH.

(Copy.)

London, Aug. 21, 1773.

MY LORD,

I HAVE just received from the house of representatives of the Massachusetts Bay, their address to the king, which I now inclose, and send to your lordship, with my humble request in their behalf, that you would be pleased to present it to his majesty the first convenient opportunity.

I have the pleasure of hearing from that province by my late letters, that a sincere disposition prevails in the people there to be on good terms with the mother country; that the assembly have declared their desire only to be put into the situation they were in before the stamp act: *They aim at no novelties.* And it is said, that having lately discovered, as they think, the authors of their grievances to be some of their own people, their resentment against Britain is thence much abated.

This good disposition of theirs (will your lordship permit me to say) may be cultivated by a favorable answer to this address, which I therefore hope your goodness will endeavor to obtain.

With the greatest respect,
I have the honor to be, my lord, &c.

B. FRANKLIN,

Agent for the House of Representatives.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE your majesty's loyal subjects, the representatives of your ancient colony of Massachusetts's Bay, in general court legally assembled, by virtue of your majesty's writ under the hand and seal of the governor, beg leave to lay this our humble petition before your majesty.

Nothing but the sense of duty we owe to our sovereign, and the obligation we are under to consult the peace and safety of the province, could induce us to remonstrate to your majesty concerning the mal-conduct of persons, who have heretofore had the confidence and esteem of this people ; and whom your majesty has been pleased, from the purest motives of rendering your subjects happy, to advance to the highest places of trust and authority in the province.

Your majesty's humble petitioners, with the deepest concern and anxiety, have seen the discords and animosities which have too long subsisted between your subjects of the parent state and those of the American colonies. And we have trembled with apprehensions that the consequences, naturally arising therefrom, would at length prove fatal to both countries.

Permit us humbly to suggest to your majesty, that your subjects here have been inclined to believe, that the grievances which they have suffered, and still continue to suffer, have been occasioned by your majesty's ministers and principal servants being, unfortunately for us, *misinformed* in certain facts of very interesting importance to us. It is for this reason that former assemblies have, from time to time, prepared a true state of facts to be laid before your majesty ; but their humble remonstrances and petitions, it is presumed, have by some means been prevented from reaching your royal hand.

Your majesty's petitioners have very lately had before them *certain papers*, from which they humbly conceive, it

is most reasonable to suppose, that there has been long a conspiracy of evil men in this province, who have contemplated measures and formed a plan to advance themselves to power, and raise their own fortunes, by means destructive of the charter of the province, at the expence of the quiet of the nation, and to the annihilating of the rights and liberties of the American colonies.

And we do, with all due submission to your majesty, beg leave particularly to complain of the conduct of his excellency Thomas Hutchinson, Esq. governor, and the honorable Andrew Oliver, Esq. lieutenant-governor of this your majesty's province, as having a natural and efficacious tendency to interrupt and alienate the affections of your majesty, our rightful sovereign, from this your loyal province; to destroy that harmony and good-will between Great Britain and this colony, which every honest subject should strive to establish; to excite the resentment of the British administration against this province; to defeat the endeavors of our agents and friends to serve us by a fair representation of our state of facts; to prevent our humble and repeated petitions from reaching the ear of your majesty, or having their desired effect. And finally, that the said Thomas Hutchinson and Andrew Oliver, have been among the chief instruments in introducing a fleet and army into this province, to establish and perpetuate their plans, whereby they have been not only greatly instrumental in disturbing the peace and harmony of the government, and causing unnatural and hateful discords and animosities between the several parts of your majesty's extensive dominions; but are justly chargable with all that corruption of morals, and all that confusion, misery, and bloodshed, which have been the natural effects of posting an army in a populous town.

Wherefore we most humbly pray, that your majesty would be pleased to remove from their posts in this government the said Thomas Hutchinson, Esquire, and Andrew Oliver, Esquire; who have, by their above-mentioned conduct, and otherwise, rendered themselves justly obnoxious

to your loving subjects, and entirely lost their confidence and place such good and faithful men in their stead, as your majesty in your wisdom shall think fit.

In the name and by order of the house of representatives.

THOMAS CUSHING, Speaker.

The petition of the Massachusetts assembly lay for some time in the hands of the ministers; and in the beginning of the following year was taken up. Mr. Mauduit, who acted as agent for the governor, had several private conferences with the ministers, and addressed to the committee of the privy council on the 10th of January 1774, the following letter:

TO THE LORDS COMMITTEE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL FOR PLANTATION AFFAIRS.

THE PETITION OF ISRAEL MAUDUIT.

Humbly sheweth unto your lordships,

THAT having been informed, that an address, in the name of the house of representatives of his majesty's colony of Massachusetts Bay, has been presented to his majesty by Benjamin Franklin, Esquire, praying the removal of his majesty's governor and lieutenant-governor, which is appointed to be taken into consideration on Thursday next; your petitioner, on the behalf of the said governor and lieutenant-governor, humbly prays, that he may be heard by counsel in relation to the same, before your lordships shall make any report on the said address.

ISRAEL MAUDUIT.

Clement's Lane, Jan. 10, 1774.

A controversy had taken place in the public prints between Mr. Thomas Whately's brother and Mr. John Temple, arising out of the manner in which the letters of Governor Hutchinson, &c. had passed to Boston, from among the papers of Mr. Thomas Whately, who was at this time deceased.

Mr. Whately wished to avoid the charge of having given them, Mr. Temple of having taken them. At length the dispute became so personal and pointed, that Mr. Temple thought it necessary to call the surviving brother into the field. The letter of provocation appeared in the morning, and the parties met in the afternoon. Dr. Franklin was not then in town; and it was only after some interval that he received the intelligence. What had passed he could not foresee; but he considered it to be his duty, and therefore he endeavored to prevent what still might otherwise follow by publishing the following article:

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

FINDING that two gentlemen have been unfortunately engaged in a duel, about a transaction and its circumstances, of which both of them are totally ignorant and innocent; I think it incumbent upon me to declare (for the prevention of farther mischief, as far as such a declaration may contribute to prevent it) that I alone am the person who obtained and transmitted to Boston the letters in question. Mr. W. could not communicate them, because they were never in his possession; and for the same reason, they could not be taken from him by Mr. T.—They were not of the nature of *private* letters between friends. They were written by public officers to persons in public stations, on public affairs, and intended to procure public measures; they were therefore handed to other public persons who might be influenced by them to produce those measures. Their tendency was to incense the mother country against her colonies, and by the steps recommended, to widen the breach: which they affected.—The chief caution expressed with regard to privacy, was, to keep their contents from the colony agents; who the writers apprehended might return them, or copies of them to America. That apprehension was, it seems, well founded: for the first agent who laid his hands

on then, thought it his duty to transmit them to his constituents,

B. FRANKLIN.

*Agent for the House of Representatives
of Massachusetts Bay.*

Cranen-street, Dec. 25, 1773.

It will be seen by the dates, that this publication by Dr. Franklin, and the transactions which led to it, followed the presentation of the Massachusetts' petition, and preceded the letter of Mr. Mauduit to the council; and it will be seen in the narration that follows of the proceedings before the privy council, that these letters and publications, were brought into view, and produced effects, which ought to be a perpetual lesson to statesmen.

The committee of privy council met on the 11th of January, 1774.

PRESENT. *The lord president of the council.*

The secretaries of State, and many other lords.

Dr. Franklin and Mr. Bollan, agents for Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts.

Mr. Mauduit, agent for the governor of Massachusetts, with Mr. Wedderburn as his counsel.

Dr. Franklin's Letter and the Address, Mr. Pownall's Letter, and Mr. Mauduit's Petition, were read.

Mr. Wedderburn. The address mentions certain papers: I could wish to be informed what are those papers?

Dr. Franklin. They are the letters of Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Oliver.

Court. Have you brought them?

Dr. Franklin. No, but here are attested copies.

Court. Do you mean to found a charge upon them?.....if you do, you must produce the letters.

Dr. Franklin. These copies are attested by several gentlemen at Boston, and a notary public.

Mr. Wedderburn. My lords, we shall not take advantage of any imperfection in the proof. We admit that the letters are Mr. Hutchinson's and Mr. Oliver's hand writing: reserving to ourselves the right of enquiring how they were obtained.

Dr. Franklin. I did not expect that council would have been employed on this occasion.

Court. Had you not notice sent you of Mr. Mauduit's having petitioned to be heard by counsel on behalf of the governor and lieutenant governor.

Dr. Franklin. I did receive such notice; but I thought this had been a matter of politics, not of law, and have not brought my counsel.

Court. Where a charge is brought, the parties have a right to be heard by counsel or not, as they choose.

Mr. Mauduit. My lords, I am not a native of that country, as these gentlemen are. I know well Dr. Franklin's abilities, and wish to put the defence of my friends more upon a parity with the attack; he will not therefore wonder that I choose to appear before you lordships with the assistance of counsel. My friends, in their letters to me, have desired (if any proceedings, as they say, should be had upon this address) that they may have a hearing in their own justification, that their innocence may be fully cleared, and their honor vindicated, and have made provision accordingly. I do not think myself at liberty therefore to give up the assistance of my counsel in defending them against this unjust accusation.

Court. Dr. Franklin may have the assistance of counsel, or go on without it, as he shall choose.

Dr. Franklin. I desire to have counsel.

Court. What time do you want?

Dr. Franklin. Three weeks.

Ordered that the further proceedings be on Saturday the 29th instant.

The committee of privy council met according to their adjournment, on the 29th January following, when Mr. John Dunning (afterwards lord Ashburton) and Mr. John

Lee, both eminent lawyers, appeared as counsel, on behalf of the Massachusetts's assembly. Mr. Wedderburn (afterwards lord Loughborough) appeared as counsel for the governor and lieutenant-governor.

The matter being a complaint from the Massachusetts's assembly, their counsel were first heard of course. Mr. Wedderburn, was very long and laborious, and indecently acrimonious in his answers. Instead of justifying his clients, or vindicating their conduct in the administration, which was the matter complained of, Mr. Wedderburn bent the whole force of his discourse, which was an inflammatory invective, against Dr. Franklin, who sat with calm equanimity an auditor of this injudicious and indecorous course of proceeding.

The principal but of his acrimony was the matter of dispute between Mr. Temple and Mr. Whately; and the letter published by Dr. Franklin in the Public Advertiser of 25th December, 1773.

Mr. Dunning had substantiated the complaints of the assembly by exhibiting the letters, which were at this time published in a pamphlet; and also in the Remembrancer of 1773; and he stood upon their letters as proof of their being unworthy of the confidence of the government as well as of the assembly of Massachusetts. Among other matters, he stated, that Andrew Oliver had suggested to the ministry—"to stipulate with the merchants of England, "and purchase from them large quantities of goods proper for the American market; agreeing before hand to "allow them a premium equal to the advance of their "stock in the trade, if the price of their goods was not "enhanced by a tenfold demand in future, even though "the goods might lay on hand till this temporary stagnation of business ceased. By such a step," said he, "*the game will be up with my countrymen.*" That Oliver had on other occasions (in a letter to the ministry, dated Feb. 15, 1769,) 'indirectly recommended assassination;' his words being, 'that some method should be devised to *take off* the original incendiaries, whose writings supplied

the fuel of sedition through the Boston Gazette.”⁵ And he referred to the case of Mr. Otis, who, notwithstanding he held the office of king’s advocate, under the predecessor of governor Hutchinson, had been at night attacked by one Robinson, a commissioner of the king’s customs, at the head of a gang of ruffians armed with swords and bludgeons; who on entering the house, extinguished the lights, and after leaving the respectable gentleman covered with wounds, fled and found a refuge on board a king’s ship. Mr. Hutchinson by one declaration alone, he said, justified all the complaints of Massachusetts, and called for an immediate dismissal of an officer so hostile to the rights and liberties of his countrymen. He who had declared “*there must be an abridgment of English liberties in the colonies,*” was justly charged with “making wicked and injurious representations, designed to influence the ministry, and the nation, and to excite jealousies in the breast of the king against his faithful subjects.”

The speeches of Messrs. Dunning and Lee were never reported at length; but the extracts which they read were marked for them by Dr. Franklin, of which the following is one.

EXTRACTS FROM HUTCHINSON’S CORRESPONDENCE.

Boston, June 22, 1772.

“The union of the colonies is pretty well broke; I hope I shall never see it renewed. Indeed our sons of liberty are hated and despised by their former brethren in New York and Pennsylvania; and it must be something very extraordinary ever to reconcile them.”

Boston, December 8, 1772.

“You see no difference between the case of the colonies and that of Ireland. I care not in how favorable a light you look upon the colonies, if it does not separate us from

⁵ The writers alluded to were Messrs. Otis, Dexter, Warren, Adams, Quincy, Mayben, and Cooper. Mr. Otis was so much injured by the wounds he received, as never after to recover, and afterwards died in a state of mental derangement, produced by his wounds.

you. You will certainly find it more difficult to retain the colonies, than you do Ireland. *Ireland is near you, and under your constant inspection; all officers are dependent and removable at pleasure. The colonies are remote, and the officers generally more disposed to please the people than the king or his representative. In Ireland you have always the ultima ratio, [a standing army] in the colonies you are either destitute of it, or you have no civil magistrate to direct the use of it.*"

Mr. Wedderburn after a review of the arguments of counsel, and the customary eulogies on the loyalty and services of his clients, evading the examination of the matter in complaint, directed himself to an inculcation of the assembly and people of Massachusetts, and intemperately against the character and conduct of Dr. Franklin generally, but particularly in the case of the letters.

"The letters could not have come to Dr. Franklin," said Mr. Wedderburn, "by fair means. The writers did not give them to him, nor yet did the deceased correspondent, who, from our intimacy, would otherwise have told me of it: nothing then will acquit Dr. Franklin of the charge of obtaining them by fraudulent or corrupt means, for the most malignant of purposes; unless he stole them, from the person who stole them. This argument is irrefragable.

"I hope, my lords, you will mark and brand the man, for the honor of this country, of Europe, and of mankind. Private correspondence has hitherto been held sacred in times of the greatest party rage, not only in politics but religion."—"He has forfeited all the respect of societies and of men. Into what companies will he hereafter go with an unembarrassed face, or the honest intrepidity of virtue. Men will watch him with a jealous eye, they will hide their papers from him, and lock up their escrutoires. He will henceforth esteem it a libel to be called *a man of letters*, *homo TRIUM⁶ literarum!*

"But he not only took away the letters from one brother but kept himself concealed till he nearly occasioned the

6 i. e. Fur. (or thief.)

murder of the other. It is impossible to read his account, expressive of the coolest and most deliberate malice, without horror." [*Here he read the letter of Dr. Franklin printed in the Public Advertiser.*—Amidst these tragical events, of one person nearly murdered, of another answerable for the issue; of a worthy governor hurt in his dearest interests; the fate of America in suspense; here is a man, who, with the utmost insensibility of remorse, stands up and avows himself the author of all:....I can compare it only to Zanga in Dr. Young's *Revenge*.⁷

"Know then 'twas.....I

I forged the letter,.....I disposed the picture;.....

I hated,.....I dispised,.....and I destroy.

"I ask, my lords, whether the revengful temper, attributed by poetic fiction only to the bloody African, is not surpassed by the coolness and apathy of the wily American?"

These pleadings for a time worked great effects; the lords assented, the town was convinced, Dr. Franklin was dismissed,⁸ and Mr. Wedderburn placed himself in the road for that high advancement which he sought, and with which he was rewarded.—Unfortunately for Mr. Wedderburn, the events of the war did not correspond with his system. Unfortunately too⁹ for his "irrefragable argument," Dr. Franklin afterwards took an oath in chancery, that at the time that he transmitted the letters, he was ignorant of the party to whom they had been addressed, having himself received them from a third person, and for the express purpose of their being conveyed to America. Unfortunately also for Mr. Wedderburn's "worthy governor," that governor himself, *before* the arrival of Dr. Franklin's packet in Boston, sent over one of Dr. Franklin's own "private" letters to England, expressing some little coyness indeed upon the occasion, but desiring secrecy, lest he should be prevented procuring *more* useful intelligence from the same source⁹ Whether Mr. Wedderburn in his speech intended

⁷ Act. Vth.

⁸ He was dismissed from his station in the post-office, which he first established.

⁹ See the Remembrancer for the year 1776, part 2d. p. 61. col. 1st. and 2d.

to draw a particular case and portraiture, for the purpose only of injuring Dr. Franklin, or meant that his language and epithets should apply generally to all, whether friends or foes, whose practice should be found similar to it, is a matter not of so much importance.

But to return to Dr. Franklin. It was not singular perhaps, that, as a man of honor, he should surrender his name to public scrutiny in order to prevent mischief to others, and yet not betray his coadjutor (even to his death) to relieve his own fame from the severest obloquy; but perhaps it belonged to few besides Dr. Franklin, to possess mildness and magnanimity enough to refrain from intemperate expressions and measures against Mr. Wedderburn and his supporters, after all that had passed. There is in a note, in the hand writing of Dr. Franklin, in the possession of the Philadelphia editor, where he observes on the word *duty*, in the close of his letter in the Public Advertiser, as follows:

“Governor Hutchinson, as appears by his letters, since found and published in New England, had the same idea of *duty*, when he procured copies of Dr. Franklin’s letters to the assembly, and sent them to the ministry of England.”

The result of the deliberations of the committee of the privy council was such as might be expected from the complacency with which they had heard Mr. Wedderburn, and the general fatuity that appears to have governed the councils of the British nation at the time.

The privy council made a report in which was expressed the following opinion.

“The lords of the committee do agree humbly to report, as their opinion to your majesty, that the petition is founded upon resolutions formed on false and erroneous allegations; and is groundless, vexatious, and scandalous, and calculated only for the seditious purpose of keeping up a spirit of clamor and discontent in the said province. And the lords of the committee do further humbly report to your majesty, that nothing has been laid before them which does or can, in their opinion, in any manner, or in any degree, impeach the honor, integrity, or conduct of the said

governor or lieutenant-governor; and their lordships are humbly of opinion, that the said petition ought to be dismissed.

Feb. 7th, 1774. "His majesty, taking the said report into consideration, was pleased, with the advice of his privy-council, to approve thereof; and to order, that the said petition of the house of representatives of the province of Massachusetts's Bay, be dismissed the board—as groundless, vexatious, and scandalous; and calculated only for the seditious purpose of keeping up a spirit of clamor and discontent in the said province."

A former petition against governor Bernard met with a dismissal couched in similar terms.

THE Essay that follows was originally published in 1774; and is the joint work of George Whately, and Dr. Franklin. The original work was indeed written by the former; and communicated to the latter; who rarely ever perused a literary production without correcting, improving, or augmenting its force and value, from his own sources. The corrections and additions which were made by Dr. Franklin, produced an amicable controversy between them, who had the best claim to call himself the author of it, which was closed by a determination to publish it, without any name, but under this designation—"By a well wisher to the king and country." Dr. Franklin who was never so solicitous about the reputation as about the practical utility of his writings, continued to consider his friend Mr. Whately as the author; and persisted even to the last in that sentiment; for in a letter of the 24th of August, 1784, from Paris, addressed to him in the words, "*My dear old Friend,*" he requests a copy of your excellent little work—"The Principles of Trade." The letter will be found in its proper place in this edition among the miscellaneous correspondence. The whole work is given here, because with whatever success the separation might be accomplished, of what belongs to the one or the other, the separate parts would be each incomplete; and the whole is particularly worthy of preservation.

PRINCIPLES OF TRADE.

Freedom and Protection are its best Support; Industry, the only Means to render Manufactures cheap.

Of Coins, Exchange, and Bounties, particularly the Bounty on Corn.

Commerce is generally understood to be the Basis, on which the power of this Country hath been raised; and on which it must ever stand.

Tous les sujets doivent leurs spins, et leurs lumieres, à l'etat.

DEDICATION.

TO all those, who have the welfare, and prosperity, of these kingdoms at heart; the following essay, containing, we hope, useful, and uncontrovertible principles, on the subjects treated of, is very heartily, and affectionately, inscribed.

March, 1774.

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PREFACE.

IT is a vain imagination that we exist only for ourselves, or our particular country. The all-wise Creator has ordained that a *mutual dependence* shall run through all his works; and though our limited capacities will not admit us fully to comprehend the nature and end of this connected chain of things; yet we may, and indeed ought, to enquire into, and consider every thing which relates to our mutual dependence upon one another, and the springs and principles of our actions.

By this investigation we shall find, that our wants, whether real or ideal; our passions and our habits; are the springs of all our actions, and indeed, the movers of the general intercourse, and commerce, between one man and another, one country and another.

Most writers upon trade, have made it their business, to support and explain some particular branches of traffic; or some favorite hypothesis. We shall, in the ensuing essay,

use our best endeavors to remove from the friends of trade, and mankind in general, some prevailing prejudices ; and to treat in a concise manner, upon a few self-evident principles, and general maxims ; under a persuasion, that if such maxims and principles are just, all deductions, and discussions whatever, may be tried by their standard.

Some very respectable friends have indulged us with their ideas and opinions. It is with the greatest pleasure we in this second edition most grateful acknowledge the favor ; and must add, that should the public hold this performance in any estimation, no small share belongs to those friends.

§ 1. Trade, or commerce, is the intercourse, as well between nation and nation, as between one man and another ; by which we acquire whatsoever may be thought, or understood to be, of use or delight, whether real or ideal.

2. The spring, or movement of such intercourse, is, and ever must be, gain, or the hopes of gain ; as neither the public, nor the individual, would intentionally pursue, any unprofitable intercourse or commerce.

3. Gain being the principle of trade ; the whole mystery of trade must therefore consist in prosecuting methods, whereby gain, or advantage may be obtained.

In transactions of trade, it is not to be supposed, that like gaming, what one party gains the other must necessarily lose. The gain to each may be equal. If A has more corn than he can consume, but wants cattle ; and B has more cattle, but wants corn ; an exchange is gain to each : hereby the common stock of comforts in life, is increased.

4. Freedom and protection, are most indisputable principles whereon the success of trade must depend ; as clearly as an open good road tends towards a safe and speedy intercourse : nor is there a greater enemy to trade than constraint.

5. Governments which have adopted those plain simple principles have been greatly benefited.

6. Were princes, in general, to abolish all sorts of prohibitory laws, trade, in general, would flourish most in

those countries, where the happy situation ; the mildness of the climate ; the activity and industry of the inhabitants ; would furnish means for a speedy and useful intercourse, reciprocally to supply any real, or ideal want.

When princes make war by prohibiting commerce, each may hurt himself, as much as his enemy. Traders, who by their business are promoting the common good of mankind, as well as farmers, and fishermen, who labor for the subsistence of all ; should never be interrupted or molested in their business ; but enjoy the protection of all in the time of war, as well as in time of peace.

This policy, those we are pleased to call barbarians, have, in a great measure, adopted : for the trading subjects of any power, with whom the emperor of Morocco may be at war, are not liable to capture, when within sight of his land, going or coming ; and have otherwise free liberty to trade and reside in his dominions.

As a maritime power, we presume it is not thought right, that Great Britain should grant such freedom, except partially : as in the case of war with France, when tobacco is allowed to be sent thither under the sanction of passports.

7. We are no more to expect this, than that the whole world should be governed by the same laws. In our opinion, however, no laws which the art of man can devise, will, or can, hinder, or entirely stop the current of, a profitable trade ; any more than the severest laws, could prevent the satisfying of hunger, when any chance, or opportunity, offered to gratify it.

8. Nevertheless, so far as it is possible, according to the different modes, and constitutions of each state, freedom and protection should be ever had in view, by its respective government.

9. For whatever law is enacted ; abridging a freedom, or liberty, which the true interest of the state demands ; or which does not grant protection where it may be wanted, must clearly be detrimental.

10. We are well aware, that in many cases, individuals may endeavor at an intercourse or trade, whereby the pub-

lic, in one particular point, may seem injured; and yet it may be out of the power of the state to hinder it, without breaking in upon the freedom of trade; so that the Dutchman, who, when Antwerp was besieged, furnished arms, ammunition, and provision to the Spaniards, and gloried in it, though a chief magistrate of Amsterdam, was not so very wrong in his principles in general, as at first sight might appear: for this Dutchman ran the risk of losing his ammunition, &c. which, if taken, would have been indeed his loss, but a gain to the captors his countrymen; and if sold, and delivered to the enemy, brought profit to him, and in consequence to the state of which he was a member. This man, to evince how much he held freedom in trade to be essential, used a very strong figure; when owning his having furnished the enemy of the state with ammunition, &c. he added; that he would, to prosecute his trade, sail through hell, at the risk of singing his sails.

It is generally a vain imagination, that if we do not furnish an enemy with what he wants, he cannot be supplied elsewhere. Since we are to suffer the mischief he may do with it, why should we not receive the profit that arises on supplying it? Thus might the Dutchman have reasoned when he supplied the enemy with ammunition, &c.

11. We have, as a first principle, laid down what we apprehend every one must allow, that gain, or the hopes of gain, are the mover of all intercourse or trade. Herein, as above hinted, must be comprehended, all matters of use, in the first instance: and then, matters of ambition, delight, opinion: in one word, luxury.

12. Now things of real use, can only be meat, drink, clothing, fuel, and habitation. The several particulars relative to these, every one's mind can suggest: to enumerate would almost be endless.

13. As to meat, in a country where corn, fruits, and cattle, can be raised, and bred; the inhabitants must be wanting in industry, to cultivate the lands, or they cannot in the common course of things, want help from their neighbors, for sustenance.

The same as to drink ; if for it they will content themselves, with the beverage made of their own corn, and fruits.

And so of cloathing ; if they can be satisfied to be clad, with the manufactures made from the produce of their own country.

As to fuel and habitation, there are very few countries which do not afford these articles.

14. The real want of all or any of these necessities, must, and ever will be, an incentive to labor ; either by every individual himself, in the community ; or by those, to whom an equivalent is given, for their labor.

15. When ambition, delight, opinion otherwise luxury, come to be considered, the field is extremely enlarged ; and it will require a copious deliberation and ascertainment.

16. For luxury may be carried to such a height, as to be thought by some, to be prejudicial to the state ; though we, in a general sense, cannot well apprehend it can : inasmuch, as what we call riches, must be the cause of luxury, taken in all its branches.

17. Now riches, as we conceive them, consist in whatever, either a state, or an individual have, more than is necessary, to procure the above essentials, which are only of real use, viz. meat and drink, and cloths, fire and shelter.

This more or abundance, from whatsoever cause it may proceed, after the bartering for, and procuring those essentials, would absolutely, and to all intents, be useless, and of no manner of avail, were it not, that delight, and opinion, came in aid, to cause what we will call ideal wants ; which wants, our passions put into our make by the almighty hand that formed us, cause us to be almost as solicitous to provide for, and to supply, as if such wants were real.

18. We therefore must repeat, that from motives to acquire what may be thought of real or ideal use, spring the intercourse or trade between nations, as well as between individuals : and it seems to be self-evident that the produce of the land, and of industry in general, must supply all our wants : and consequently our trade.

19. Now, though it is hardly to be expected, as above hinted, that princes should allow of a general free trade or intercourse, because they seldom know their own true interest; yet it does not follow that fundamental maxims should not be attended to in governing an industrious people. Some of these principles we beg leave to expatiate on.

20. Land, to bring forth its increase, must be cultivated by man and beast. It is therefore the duty and interest of the state to rear both man and beast; and in their respective classes to nourish and cherish them.

21. Industry in all shapes, in all instances, and by all means, should be encouraged and protected. Indolence by every possible method rooted out.

All that live must be subsisted. Subsistence costs something. He that is industrious produces by his industry, something that is an equivalent, and pays for his subsistence. He is therefore no charge, or burden to society. The indolent are an expence, uncompensated.

There can be no doubt but all kinds of employment that can be followed without prejudice from interruptions; work that can be taken up, and laid down, often in a day, without damage; such as spinning, knitting, weaving, &c. are highly advantageous to a country: because, in them, may be collected all the produce of those fragments of time that occur in family business, between the constant and necessary parts of it, that usually occupy females; as the time between rising and preparing breakfast; between breakfast and preparing for dinner, &c. The amount of all these fragments, is, in the course of a year, very considerable to a single family; to a state proportionably. Highly profitable therefore it is, in this case also, to follow that divine direction, gather up the fragments that nothing be lost. Lost time is lost subsistence; it is therefore lost treasure.

Hereby in several families, many yards of linen have been produced from the employment of these fragments only, in one year, though such families were just the same in number as when not so employed.

It was an excellent saying of a certain Chinese emperor, "I will, if possible, have no idleness in my dominions; for if there be one man idle, some other man must suffer cold and hunger." We take this emperor's meaning to be, that the labor due to the public, by each individual, not being performed by the indolent, must naturally fall to the share of others, who must thereby suffer.

22. Whatever can contribute towards procuring from the land, and by industry, a produce wherewith other nations may be supplied, ought highly to be encouraged.;

23. Materials wanting in a country to employ its inhabitants, ought by all means to be procured. Gold and silver, those tokens of riches, used as such, and otherwise of little use, are not near so estimable. The bartering of them for such materials is manifestly advantageous.

24. These, as we apprehend, are uncontrovertible principles, on which a wise government will found its resolutions.

25. That the use of the produce of other countries for ideal wants ought to be discouraged, particularly when the produce of the land, or of industry, are not given in exchange for them, has been strongly urged by many. On the grand principle of freedom in trade, we cannot well admit it: for it is plain the luxurious will use, and the trader, to prosecute his gain, will procure such foreign produce: nor do prohibitory laws, or heavy duties, hinder. Nevertheless, to allow for a moment the doctrine, we will remark, that only the establishing it as a mode or fashion amongst the opulent and great, can possibly effectuate a disuse or discouragement.

In fact, the produce of other countries can hardly be obtained, unless by fraud or rapine, without giving the produce of our land or our industry in exchange for them. If we have mines of gold and silver: gold and silver may then be called the produce of our land. If we have not, we can only fairly obtain those metals by giving for them the produce of our land or industry. When we have them, they are then only that produce or industry in another

shape ; which we may give, if the trade requires it, and our other produce will not suit, in exchange for the produce of some other country that furnishes what we have more occasion for, or more desire. When we have, to an inconvenient degree, parted with our gold and silver, our industry is stimulated afresh to procure more ; that by its means we may contrive to procure the same advantage.

In this place it will be proper to observe upon an erroneous doctrine, which has been often strenuously insisted on, that the cheapness of provisions must render manufactures cheap ; and that plenty of money conduces to the benefit of trade. We shall endeavor to prove that industry alone does both.

26. Providence has wisely ordained that there should be different occupations and pursuits amongst men, and that the rich and poor should be actuated by different wants, whether real or ideal. It is next to impossible that the rich should be without desires, or wishes for greater acquisitions ; or the poor without being necessitated to acquire what must supply their real wants. If the rich curtail their desires, or wishes, their riches serve, in proportion to their not using them, no more than ore in an unworked mine. If the poor man, by *one* day's labor can supply his real wants for *two* days, and sits idle the half of his time, he may be considered in such idle time, as a monk or a cripple with regard to the community. If a thirst for acquisition move the rich man, he industriously employs all his riches. If the scarcity of provisions compel the poor man to work his whole time, he assuredly, by his industry, must make more manufactures than only working half of it. Hence we conclude, that gain is the first mover ; and industry, and the desire of supplying our wants, the intermediate movers of all intercourse or trade. We however must observe, that a government truly wise should always, as far as the general good allows, be as solicitous to procure plenty of provisions, whereby both man and beast, may be kept in good health and strength, as to encourage industry. For industry cannot be sufficiently sustained without the strength arising from plenty of provision.

The common people do not work for pleasure generally ; but from necessity.* Cheapness of provisions makes them more idle ; less work is then done ; it is then more in demand proportionally ; and of course the price rises. Dearthness of provisions obliges the manufacturer to work more days and more hours : thus more work is done than equals the usual demand ; of course it becomes cheaper, and the manufactures in consequence.

27. As to plenty of money being a benefit to trade and manufactures, we apprehend every one conversant therein must know that the coin, by which we generally understand money, of every respective state, is, by no means the mover of the intercourse or tradings of the world in general. Gold and silver in bullion, or in an uncoined mass, are rather more so ; being, in point of value, a merchandise less liable to variation than any other. It is true that coin may be liable, in the fluctuation of trade, to be made a merchandise of ; but as by constant use, the pieces of coin become lighter than their original weight, they thereby are less fit for merchandise. We therefore may say, that coins, in general, can no otherwise be useful, than as the common measure between man and man, as serving to barter against, or exchange for, all kinds of commodities. Certain it is that coins cannot be ranked amongst those things which are *only of real use*. Let us therefore suppose pieces of coin to be counters ; and to simplify the matter still more, suppose every manufacturer to have of these counters any sum whatever, will it follow, that any sort of manufacture shall be industriously attended to, or more work done than when no more counters than just enough to barter for the real wants of meat, drink, and clothes, &c. can be procured by

* These maxims and many others in this tract, are to be considered as applicable to European society, particularly to England, where industry is not applied to the profit of the individual who labors ; but where one or a few individuals, with large capitals, make a monopoly of the industry of thousands.... These thousands barely subsisted by labor, and from the scantiness of their reward or wages, never able to reserve a surplus to accumulate for their children or for old age, are ever dependent on their employers ; and where labor is the only occupation, and bare existence the only hope, there idleness is an enjoyment.

labor? surely no. It must be the desire of supplying our wants, which excites industry as above hinted, that alone sets that trade going, and only can procure plenty of manufactures.

28. It is, nevertheless, the duty of government to stamp coins or counters of different sorts and denominations, so that time of all things the most precious, be not wasted in settling the respective exchangings amongst mankind. Nevertheless the plenty or scarcity of those coins cannot entirely depend on any government; but on the general circulation and fluctuation of trade: which may make them a merchandise, without the least detriment; as it must be allowed, that the precious metals gold and silver, of which such coins are principally composed, are no other than merchandise acquired from countries where there are mines, by those countries which have none, in exchange for the produce of their land, or of their manufactures.

29. That the welfare of any state depends on its keeping *all* its gold, and silver, either in bullion, or in coin; must be founded on a very narrow principle indeed. All republics, we know of, wisely think otherwise. Spain, the grand source of silver, has, of late years, very justly, allowed the free exportation of it, paying a duty, as in Great Britain, lead, and tin do: nor prior to this permission could their penal laws, in Spain, hinder its being exported: for it was a commodity which that kingdom was under a necessity of giving as an equivalent, for what was furnished to them by other countries.

Could Spain and Portugal have succeeded in executing their foolish laws for "*hedging in the cuckow*," as Locke calls it, and have kept at home all their gold and silver; those metals would, by this time, have been of little more value than so much lead or iron. Their plenty would have lessened their value. We see the folly of these edicts; but are not our own prohibitory and restrictive laws that are professedly made with intention to bring a balance in our favor from our trade with foreign nations to be paid in money, and laws to prevent the necessity of exporting that money, which, if they could be thoroughly executed, would

make money as plenty, and of as little value ; I say, are not such laws akin to those Spanish edicts ; follies of the same family ?

30. In Great Britain, the silver coin bearing a disproportion to gold more than in neighboring states, of about five in the hundred, must, by that disproportion, become merchandise, as well for exportation, as for the manufactures at home, in which silver is employed, more than if it remained in the mass uncoined. This might be remedied without injuring the public, or touching the present standard, which never should be done, only by enacting that sixty-five shillings should be cut out of one pound weight of standard silver, instead of sixty-two, which are the number now ordained by law. We must, however, remark, that, whenever by any extraordinary demand for silver, a pound weight, bought even for sixty-five shillings, can be sent abroad to advantage ; or melted down for manufactures ; no prohibitory laws will hinder its exportation, or melting, and still becoming a merchandise.

31. Coiners have pointed out, though at the risk of the gallows, a measure which we think would be advisable in some degree for government to adopt. They coin and circulate shillings of such weight as to gain ten to fourteen in the hundred, and upwards : as out of a pound of standard silver they cut sixty-eight or seventy-one shillings. That these light shillings or counters are useful, though the public be so greatly imposed on, is evident. It must be presumed, that every thing is put in practice by government, to detect and stop this manifest roguery. If so, can it on the one hand be supposed the public purse should bear the burden of this fraud ? yet, on the other hand, having no supply of legal shillings or counters, the utility of the illegal ones forces them, as it were, on the public. The power of the legislature to correct the erroneous proportion of five in the hundred, as above mentioned, is indubitable ; but whether every private person possessed of these counters, or the public purse, should be obliged to bear the loss on a re-coinage, seems a difficult point to determine ; as it may

be alleged, that every private person has it in his power to accept, or refuse any coin, under the weight, as by law enacted, for each denomination. If the former, he does it to his own wrong, and must take the consequences. The individual, on the other hand, has to allege, the almost total want of lawful counters ; together with the impossibility or neglect, of hindering those of an inferior weight from being suffered to be current. It may be submitted, that as the use of coin is for public utility, any loss which arises in the coin either by wearing, or even by filing and sweating, ought to be made good by calling in the coin after a certain number of years from the time of coinage, and receiving the money called in at the charge of the public. We are well aware what latitude such a resolution might give to the coiners of shillings, the filers, and the sweaters of gold ; but taking proper measures beforehand, this evil might, we think, in a great degree be prevented.

32. In the beginning of his present majesty's reign, quarter guineas were wisely ordered to be coined ; whereby the want of silver coin was in some degree supplied : which would still be more so, were thirds and two-thirds of guineas to be coined. We cannot conceive why this is not done ; except that these denominations are not specified in his majesty's indenture with the master of the mint ; which in our humble opinion ought to be rectified

In Portugal, where almost all their coin is gold, there are divisions of the moeda, or 27 shilling pieces, into tenths, sixths, quarters, thirds, halves, and two-thirds. Of the moeda, and one-third, or 36 shilling piece into eighths, quarters, and halves.

33. We think it not improper here to observe, that it matters not, whether silver, or gold, be called the standard money ; but it seems most rational that the most scarce and precious metal should be the unit or standard.

That as to copper, it is fit for money, or a counter, as gold or silver, provided it be coined of a proper weight, and fineness : and just so much will be useful as will serve to make up small parts in exchange between man and man, and no more ought to be coined.

As to paper circulating as money, it is highly profitable, as its quick passing from one to another is a gain of time, and thereby may be understood to add hands to the community: inasmuch as those, who would be employed in telling and weighing, will follow other business. The issuers or coiners of paper, are understood to have an equivalent to answer what it is issued for, or valued at; nor can any metal or coin do more than find its value.

§ It is impossible for government to circumscribe, or fix the extent of paper credit, which must, of course, fluctuate. Government may as well pretend to lay down rules, for the operations, or the confidence, of every individual, in the course of his trade. Any seeming temporary evil arising, must naturally work its own cure.

34. As some principles relative to exchange, have in our opinion been treated of in a very confused manner, and some maxims have been held out upon that subject, which tend only to mislead; we shall here briefly lay down, what, according to our opinion, are self-evident principles.

35. Exchange, by bills, between one country or city and another, we conceive to be this. One person wants to get a sum from any country or city; consequently has his bill or draft to sell: another wants to send a sum thither; and therefore agrees to buy such bill, or draft. He has it at an agreed-for price, which is the course of the exchange. It is with this price for bills, as with merchandise; when there is a scarcity of bills in the market, they are dear; when plenty, they are cheap.

36. We judge it needless to enter into the several courses, and denominations of exchanges, which custom hath established: they are taught at school. But we think we must offer a few words to destroy an erroneous principle that has misled some, and confused others: which is, that by authority, a certain par, or fixed price of exchange, should be settled between each respective country: thereby rendering the currency of exchange as fixed, as the standard of coin.

37. We have above hinted, that plenty, and scarcity, must govern the course of exchange. Which principle,

duly considered, would suffice on the subject; but we will add, that no human foresight, can absolutely judge of the almost numberless fluctuations in trade; which vary, sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly, between countries: consequently no state, or potentate, can, by authority, any more pretend to settle the currency of the prices of the several sorts of merchandise, sent to and from their respective dominions, than they can a par of exchange. In point of merchandise, indeed, where there is a monopoly of particular commodities, an exception must be allowed, as to such articles; but this is not at all applicable to trade in general; for the encouragement of which we cannot too often repeat, that *freedom and security are most essentially necessary.*

38. Another specious doctrine, much labored by theorists, in consequence of that relating to the par, is, that the exchange between any particular country, being above, or below par, always shews whether their reciprocal trade be advantageous or disadvantageous. It is, and must be allowed, that in trade, nothing is given without adequate returns, or compensations; but these are so various, and so fluctuating, between countries, as often indirectly as directly, that there is no possibility of fixing a point from whence to argue; so that should there happen a greater variation than of two or three or more in the hundred, at any certain period in the exchange, above or below what is called the par or equality of the money of one country, to that of another, influenced by the fluctuations, and circulations in trade; it does not follow, that a trade is advantageous, or disadvantageous, excepting momentarily, if one may so say; which can be of no consequence to the public, in general; as the trade from advantageous, may become disadvantageous, and *vice versa*; and, consequently, the deducing of reasons, from what, in its nature must, be fluctuating, can only help to embarrass, if not mislead.

39. To return to trade in general. Our principles, we apprehend, may hold good for all nations, and ought to be attended to by the legislative power of every nation. We will not discuss every particular point: nor is it to our pur-

pose to examine the pretended principles or utility, whereon monopolies are generally established. That the wisdom of government should weigh and nicely consider any proposed regulation, on those principles, we humbly judge to be self-evident; whereby may be seen, whether it coincides with the general good. Solomon adviseth *not to counsel with a merchant for gain*. This, we presume, relates to the merchant's own particular profit; which, we repeat, must ever be the spring of his actions. Government ought, notwithstanding, to endeavor to procure particular informations from every one; not only from those actually employed, or those who have been concerned in particular branches of trade; but even from persons, who may have considered of it theoretically, and speculatively.

Perhaps, in general, it would be better if government meddled no farther with trade, than to protect it, and let it take its course. Most of the statutes, or acts, edicts, arrets, and placarts of parliaments, princes, and states, for regulating, directing, or restraining of trade, have we think been either political blunders, or jobs obtained by artful men for private advantage, under pretence of public good. When Colbert assembled some wise old merchants of France and desired their advice and opinion, how he could best serve and promote commerce; their answer, after consultation, was, in three words only, *Laissez nous faire*. Let us alone. It is said, by a very solid writer of the same nation, that he is well advanced in the science of politics, who knows the full force of that maxim—*Pas trop gouverner*: Not to govern too much. Which, perhaps, would be of more use when applied to trade, than in any other public concern. It were therefore to be wished, that commerce was as free between all the nations of the world, as it is between the several counties of England: so would all, by mutual communication, obtain more enjoyments. Those counties do not ruin one another by trade; neither would the nations. No nation was ever ruined by trade; even, seemingly, the most disadvantageous.

Wherever desirable superfluities are imported, industry is excited ; -and therefore plenty is produced. Were only necessaries permitted to be purchased, men would work no more than was necessary for that purpose.

40. Though we waive a discussion on particular branches of trade, as the field is too large for our present purpose ; and that particular laws, and regulations, may require variation, as the different intercourses, and even interests of states, by different fluctuations, may alter ; yet, as what relates to bounties or premiums, which the legislature of Great Britain has thought fit to grant, hath been by some deemed if not ill-judged, unnecessary ; we hope our time not ill bestowed, to consider of the fitness, and rectitude of the principle, on which, we apprehend, these bounties, or premiums, have been granted.

41. It must, we think, on all hands be allowed, that the principle whereon they are founded must be an encouragement, tending to a general benefit, though granted, on commodities, manufactures, or fisheries, carried on in particular places and countries, which are presumed, or found, to require aid from the public purse, for farther improvement.

Of the bounties, some having had the proposed effect, are discontinued : others are continued, for the very reason they were first given.

In our opinion, no doubt can arise, as to the utility of these grants from the public purse, to individuals. The grand principle of trade, which is gain, is the foundation of bounties : for as every individual, makes a part of the whole public ; consequently whatever benefits the individual, must benefit the public : hereby the wisdom of the legislature is most evident ; nor should it in any wise be arraigned, though ill success attended any particular commodity, manufacture, or fishery ; for the encouragement of which bounties have been established.

We are well aware that it is not impossible the purpose of bounty may have been perverted, with a view to improper gain ; but it is the duty of the legislature to use the proper measures for preventing such iniquity. This abuse,

however, cannot be adduced as an argument against the benefit arising from allowing bounties.

42. These principles in regard to bounties or premiums, are applicable to most articles of commerce, except wheat, and other grain; which we shall consider, and enlarge on, as being of a complicated nature; and concerning which, mankind have, at particular times, been divided in opinion.

43. It seems to us that this bounty on grain, was intended, not only to encourage the cultivating of land for the raising of it in abundance in this kingdom, for the use of its inhabitants; but also to furnish our neighbors, whenever the kind hand of providence should be pleased to grant a superfluity,

44. It never can be presumed, that the encouragement, by the bounty, insures to the community an uninterrupted constant plenty: yet, when the grower of grain knows he may, by such bounty, have a chance of a foreign market for any excess he may have, more than the usual home consumption; he the more willingly labors and improves his land upon the presumption of having a vent for his superfluity, by a demand in foreign countries; so that he will not, probably, be distressed by abundance: which, strange as it may seem to some, might be the case by his want of sale; and his great charges of gathering in his crop.

45. As there are no public granaries in this kingdom; the legislature could devise no better means, than to fix stated prices under which the bounty, or encouragement from the public purse should be allowed. Whenever the current prices exceeded those stipulated, then such bounty should cease.

46. Few consider, or are affected, but by what is present. They see grain, by reason of scanty crops, dear; therefore all the doors for gain, to the cultivator of it, must always be kept shut. The common outcry is, that the exporting our wheat, furnishes bread to our neighbors, cheaper than it can be afforded to our poor at home; which affects our manufacturers, as they can thereby work cheaper. To this

last allegation we must refer to what we have said, section 26. Though the former, that wheat is, by the bounty, afforded to our neighbors cheaper than to us at home must in general be without foundation; for the several items of charge, attending the exportation of grain; such as carriage, factorage, commission, portorage, &c. The freight paid to our own shipping, to which alone the bounty is restrained, must, when duly considered, very sufficiently counterbalance the bounty: so that more than what is given out of the public purse, is put into the pockets of individuals, for the carriage, &c. therefore, we think, we may well presume, that in general, grain exported, comes dearer to the foreigner, than to the consumer, in Great Britain.

47. Nothing can be more evident, we apprehend, than that the superfluity of our grain being exported, is a clear profit to the kingdom; as much as any other produce of our labor, in manufactures, in tin, or any commodities whatsoever.

48. It behoves us, however, indubitably, to have an eye towards having a sufficiency of grain for food in this country, as we have laid down, section 26; and were the legislature to enact, that the justices of the peace, at the Christmas quarter session, should have power to summon all growers of grain, or dealers therein, and upon oath to examine them as to the quantity then remaining: returns of which quantities, should be made to the lords of the treasury, to be laid before parliament; the legislature would, upon such returns, be able to judge, whether it would be necessary to enable his majesty, with the advice of his council, to put a stop to any farther exportation at such times, as might be thought proper.

49. Or, it is submitted, whether the legislature would not act more consistent with the principle of granting bounties, by repealing the act allowing the present bounty on the several sorts of grain at the now fixed prices, and reduce these prices as follow:

On wheat from forty-eight to thirty-six or thirty-two shillings.

On barley from twenty-four to eighteen or sixteen a quarter; and so in proportion for any other grain. In short, diminish the present standard prices, under which the bounty is granted, one quarter, or one third.

50. In our humble opinion, this last method would be, by much, the most simple, and eligible; as consistent with our grand principle of freedom in trade, which would be cramped, if dependent annually on parliamentary deliberation.

51. The advocates for not lowering the present stipulated prices that command the bounties from the public purse, may allege, that our ancestors deemed them necessary, on the principle for granting any bounty at all, which we have above hinted, section 43. We do not controvert the wisdom of the principle, for granting a bounty; for it must have been, and ever will be, an encouragement to cultivation; and consequently it would be highly improper, wholly to discontinue it; nevertheless, if it has answered one great end proposed, which was cultivation and improvement; and that it is uncontrovertible, the cultivator has, by the improvements made by the encouragement of the bounty, a living profit at the reduced prices of thirty-two, or thirty-six shillings; sixteen or eighteen, &c. as above, which probably, when our ancestors enacted the law for granting the bounty, they understood the cultivators could not have; It seems clear, that there ought to be the proposed change, and reduction of the bounty prices as above-mentioned.

52. The French, intent on trade, have a few years since, rectified a very gross mistake they labored under, in regard to their commerce in grain. One county or province in France should abound, and the neighboring one, though almost starving, should not be permitted to get grain from the plentiful province, without particular licence from court, which cost no small trouble and expence. In sea-port towns, wheat should be imported; and soon after, without leave of the magistrates, the owner should only have liberty to export one quarter, or one third, of it. They are now wiser; and through all the kingdom the corn trade is quite

free : and what is more, all sorts of grain may be exported upon French bottoms only, for their encouragement, copying, we presume, our law, whenever the market prices for three following days shall not exceed about forty-five shillings sterling a quarter for wheat : our reason for mentioning this, is only to shew, that other nations are changing their destructive measures ; and that it behoves us to be careful that we pay the greatest attention to our essential interests.

In inland high countries, remote from the sea, and whose rivers are small, running from the country, not to it, as is the case of Switzerland, great distress may arise from a course of bad harvests, if public granaries are not provided, and kept well stored. Antiently, too, before navigation was so general ; ships so plenty ; and commercial connections so well established ; even maritime countries might be occasionally distressed, by bad crops. But such is now the facility of communication between those countries, that an unrestrained commerce can scarce ever fail of procuring a sufficiency for any of them. If indeed any government is so imprudent, as to lay its hands on imported corn ; forbid its exportation ; or compel its sale, at limited prices ; there, the people, may suffer some famine, from merchants avoiding their ports. But wherever commerce is known to be always free, and the merchant absolute master of his commodity, as in Holland, there will always be a reasonable supply.

When an exportation of corn takes place, occasioned by a higher price in some foreign country, it is common to raise a clamor, on the supposition that we shall thereby produce a domestic famine. Then follows a prohibition ; founded on the imaginary distress of the poor. The poor, to be sure, if in distress, should be relieved ; but if the farmer could have a high price for his corn, from the foreign demand ; must he, by a prohibition of exportation, be compelled to take a low price, not of the poor only, but of every one that eats bread, even the richest ? The duty of relieving the poor is incumbent on the rich ; but, by this

operation, the whole burden of it is laid on the farmer ; who is to relieve the rich, at the same time. Of the poor, too, those who are maintained by the parishes, have no right to claim this sacrifice of the farmer : as, while they have their allowance, it makes no difference to them, whether bread be cheap or dear. Those working poor, who now mind business five or four days in the week, if bread should be so dear, as to oblige them to work the whole six, required by the commandment, do not seem to be aggrieved, so as to have a right to public redress. There will then remain, comparatively, only a few families in every district ; who from sickness or a great number of children, will be so distressed by a high price of corn, as to need relief : and these should be taken care of, by particular benefactions, without restraining the farmers profit.

Those who fear, that exportation may so far drain the country of corn, as to starve ourselves ; fear, what never did nor ever can happen. They may as well when they view the tide ebbing towards the sea, fear that all the water will leave the river. The price of corn, like water, will find its own level. The more we export, the dearer it becomes at home. The more is received abroad, the cheaper it becomes there ; and as soon as these prices are equal, the exportation stops of course. As the seasons vary in different countries, the calamity of a bad harvest is never universal. If then, all ports were always open, and all commerce free ; every maritime country would generally eat bread at the medium price, or average, of all the different harvests ; which would probably be more equal than we can make it, by our artificial regulations ; and, therefore, a more steady encouragement to agriculture. The nations would all have bread at this middle price : and that nation, which at any time, inhumanly, refuses to relieve the distresses of another nation, deserves no compassion, when in distress itself.

We shall here end these reflections, with our most ardent wishes for the prosperity of our country ; and our hopes, that the doctrine we have endeavored to inculcate,

as to the necessity of protection and freedom, in order to insure success in trade, will be ever attended to by the legislature in forming their resolutions relating to the commerce of these kingdoms.

PREFACE TO THE APPENDIX.²

THE clamor made of the great inconveniences, suffered by the community in regard to the coin of this kingdom, prompted me in the beginning of his majesty's reign to give the public some reflections on coin in general; on gold and silver as merchandise: and I added my thoughts on paper passing as money.

As I trust the principles then laid down are founded in truth, and will serve now as well as then, though made fourteen years ago, to change any calculation would be of little use.

Some sections, in the foregoing essay of principles of trade, might in this appendix, appear like a repetition, have been omitted.

I always resolved not to enter into any particular deduction from laws relating to coin; or into any minutia, as to accurate nicety, in weights. My intention was, and still is, no more than to endeavor to shew, as briefly as possible; that what relates to coin, is not of such a complex, abstruse nature as it is generally made: and that no more than common justice with common sense are required, in all regulations concerning it.

Perhaps more weighty concerns may have prevented government doing more in regard to coin, than ordering quarter guineas to be made; which till this reign had not been done.

But as I now judge by the late act relating to gold coin, that the legislature is roused; possibly they may consider still more of that, as well as of silver coin.

Should these reflections prove of any public utility, my end will be answered.

² This preface was written entirely by Mr. Whately; but is too valuable to be separated from the tract to which it is attached.

REFLECTIONS ON COIN IN GENERAL.

1. **COINS** are pieces of metal, on which an impression is struck; which impression is understood by the legislature to ascertain the weight, and the intrinsic value, or worth of each piece.

2. The real value of coins depends not on a piece being called a guinea, a crown, or a shilling; but the true worth of any particular piece of gold, or silver, is what such piece contains of fine or pure gold or silver.

3. Silver and copper being mixed with gold, and copper with silver, are generally understood, to render those metals more durable when circulating in coins: yet air and moisture evidently affect copper, whether by itself or mixed with other metal; whereas pure gold or silver are much less affected or corroded thereby,

4. The quantity of silver and copper so mixed by way of alloy, is fixed by the legislature. When melted with pure metal, or added, or extracted to make a lawful proportion, both gold and silver are brought to what is called standard. This alloy of silver and copper is never reckoned of any value. The standard once fixed, should ever be invariable; since any alteration would be followed by great confusion, and detriment to the state.

5. It is for public convenience, and for facilitating the bartering between mankind for their respective wants, that coins were invented and made; for were there no coins, gold and silver might be made, or left pure; and what we now call a guinea's worth of any thing, might be cut off from gold, and a crown's worth from silver, and might serve though not so commodiously as coin.

6. Hence it is evident that in whatever shape, form, or quality, these metals are, they are brought to be the most common measure between man and man, as serving to barter against, or exchange for, all kinds of commodities; and consequently are no more than an universal accepted merchandise: for gold and silver in bullion, that is to say in an uncoined mass, and gold or silver in coin, being of

equal weight, purity and fineness, must be of equal value, the one to the other: for the stamp on either of these metals, duly proportioned, neither adds to, nor takes from their intrinsic value.³

7. The prices of gold and silver as merchandise, must in all countries, like other commodities, fluctuate and vary according to the demand; and no detriment can arise therefrom, more than from the rise and fall of any other merchandise. But if when coined, a due proportion of these metals, the one to the other, be not established, the disproportion will be felt and proved; and that metal wherein the excess in the proportion is allowed, will preferably be made use of, either in exportation, or in manufacture; as is the case now, in this kingdom, in regard to silver coins, and which, in some measure, is the occasion of its scarcity.

For so long as 15 ounces and about one fifth of pure silver in Great Britain, are ordained, and deemed, to be equal to 1 ounce of pure gold, whilst in neighboring states, as France and Holland, the proportion is fixed only 14 and a half ounces of pure silver, to one ounce of pure gold; it is very evident, that our silver when coined, will always be the most acceptable merchandise, by near five in the hundred, and consequently more liable to be taken away, or melted down, than before it received the impression at the mint.

8. 62 shillings only, are ordained by law to be coined from 12 ounces of standard silver: now following the proportion abovementioned of $15\frac{1}{4}$ to $14\frac{1}{2}$, no regard being necessary as to alloy, 65 shillings should be the quantity cut out of those 12 ounces.

9. No everlasting invariable fixation for coining, can be made from a medium of the market price of gold and silver, though that medium might with ease be ascertained so as to hinder, either coined gold or silver from becoming a merchandise: for whenever the price shall rise above that

³ There is an incidental value, which arises from the authority of the state, which is in the nature of a credit or assurance of value given by the state, that either issues or authorises the issue of the coin. *Edit.*

medium, so as to give a profit; whatever is coined will be made a merchandise. This in the nature of things, must come from the general exchangings, circulation, and fluctuation in trade, and cannot be hindered; but assuredly the false proportions may be amended by the legislature, and settled as the proportion between gold and silver is in other nations; so as not to make, as now is the case, our coined silver a merchandise, so much to be preferred to the same silver uncoined.

10. What has been said seems to be self-evident; but the following calculations made on the present current price of silver and gold, may serve to prove beyond all doubt, that the proportion now fixed between gold and silver should be altered and fixed as in other countries.

By law, 62 shillings are to be coined out of one pound, or 12 ounces of standard silver. This is 62 pence an ounce. Melt these 62 shillings, and in a bar, this pound weight at market will fetch 68 pence an ounce, or 68 shillings the pound. The difference therefore between coined and uncoined silver in Great Britain is now 9 and two thirds per cent.

Out of a pound or 12 ounces of standard gold, 44 guineas and $\frac{1}{2}$ are ordained to be coined. This is 3*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ an ounce. Now the current market price of standard gold is 3*l.* 19*s.* an ounce, which makes not quite $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. difference between the coined and uncoined gold.

The state, out of duties imposed, pays for the charge of coining, as indeed it ought: for it is for public convenience, as already said, that coins are made. It is the current market price of gold and silver, that must govern the carrying it to the mint. It is absurd to think any one should send gold to be coined that should cost more than 3*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ an ounce, or silver more than 62 pence the ounce: and, as absurd would it be, to pretend, that those prices *only* shall be the constant invariable prices. It is contended that there is not a proper proportion fixed in the value of one metal to another, and this requires alteration.

11. It may be urged, that should the legislature fix the proportion of silver to gold as in other countries, by

ordering 65 shillings instead of 62 to be cut out of a pound of standard silver; yet still there would be $4\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. difference between coined and uncoined silver; whereas there is but about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. difference in gold.

On this we shall observe that the course of trade, not to mention extraordinary accidents, will make one metal more in request at one time than another; and the legislature in no one particular country, can bias, or prescribe rules or laws to influence, such demand; which ever must depend on the great chain of things, in which all the operations of this world are linked. Freedom and security only are wanted in trade: nor does coin require more, if a just proportion in the metals be settled.

12. To return to gold: it is matter of surprise, that the division of the piece called a guinea, has not been made smaller than just one half as it now is; that is into quarters, thirds, and two thirds. Hereby the want of silver coin might be greatly provided for; and those pieces, together with the light silver coin, which can *only now* remain with us, would sufficiently serve the uses in circulation.

In Portugal, where almost all their coin is gold, there are divisions of the moedas, or 27 shilling pieces, into tenths, sixths, quarters, thirds, halves, and two thirds. Of the moeda and one third, or 36 shilling piece, into eights, quarters, and halves.

13. That to the lightness of the silver coin now remaining in Great Britain, we owe all the silver coin we now have, any person with weights and scales, may prove; as upwards of 70 shillings coined in the reign of king William, or dextrously counterfeited by false coiners, will scarce weigh 12 ounces, or a pound troy.

14. All the art of man can never hinder a constant exportation and importation of gold and silver, to make up for the different calls and balances that may happen in trade: for were silver to be coined as above, 65 shillings out of a pound troy weight of standard silver; if those 65 shillings would sell at a price that makes it worth while to melt or

export them, they must and will be considered and used as a merchandise: and the same will hold as to gold.

Though the proportion of about $14\frac{1}{2}$ of pure silver, to one of pure gold, in neighboring states be *now* fixed, in regard to their coin, and it is submitted such proportion should be attended to in this kingdom, yet that proportion may be subject to alteration: for this plain reason, that should the silver mines produce a quantity of that metal so as to make it greatly abound more in proportion than it now does, and the gold mines produce no more than now they do, more silver must be requisite to purchase gold.

15. That the welfare of any state depends on its keeping *all* its gold and silver, either in bullion or in coin, is a very narrow principle; all the republics we know of, wisely think otherwise. It is an utter impossibility; nor should it ever be aimed at; for gold and silver are as clearly a merchandise, as lead and tin; and consequently should have a perfect freedom and liberty,⁴ coined and uncoined, to go and to come, pass and repass, from one country to another, in the general circulation and fluctuation of commerce, which will ever carry a general balance with it: for we should as soon give our lead, our tin, or any other product of our land or industry to those who want them, without an equivalent in some shape or other, as we should gold or silver; which it would be absurd to imagine can ever be done by our nation, or by any nation upon earth.

16. From Spain and Portugal come the greatest part of gold and silver: and the Spanish court very wisely permits the exportation of it on paying a duty, as in Great Britain lead and tin do, when exported; whereas heretofore, and as it still continues in Portugal, penal laws were enacted against the sending it out of the country. Surely princes by enact-

4 As a general principle this is unquestionably true; but it must be general, or every nation with whom commerce is extensively carried on, must alike adopt it, or the principle immediately assumes an exceptionable character; and nations liable to be effected by it must provide means to counteract the effects of a sudden drain of the usual circulating medium, because the absence of a great quantity of the medium alters the price of exchange, or relative exchange of current money for necessary labor, and subsistence; and depreciates other property.

ing such laws, could not think they had it in their power to decree and establish, that their subjects, or themselves, should not give an equivalent for what was furnished to them !

17. It is not our intention to descend into, or to discuss minutely, particular notions or systems, such as "*That silver, and not gold should be the standard money or coin,*"

"*That copper is an unfit material for money.*"

And "*That paper circulating as, and called artificial money is detrimental.*"

Yet as these doctrines seem to proceed from considering bullion, and money, or coin, in a different light from what we apprehend and have laid down, we will observe.

18. That it matters, not whether silver or gold be called standard money ; but it seems most rational, that the most scarce, and precious metal, should be the unit or standard.

19. That as to copper, it is as fit for money or a counter, as gold and silver ; provided it be coined of a proper weight and fineness : and just so much will be useful, as will serve to make up small parts in exchanges between man and man.

20. That as to paper money, it is far from being detrimental ; on the contrary, it is highly profitable, as its quick passing between mankind, instead of telling over, or weighing metal in coin, or bullion, is a gain of what is most precious in life, which is time. And there is nothing clearer than that those who must be concerned in counting and weighing, being at liberty to employ themselves on other purposes, are an addition of hands in the community.

The idea of the too great extension of credit, by the circulation of paper for money, is evidently as erroneous, as the doctrine of the non-exportation of gold and silver in bullion or coin : for were it not certain, that paper could command the equivalent of its agreed-for value ; or that gold and silver in bullion or coin exported, would be returned in the course of trade in some other merchandise ; neither paper would be used, or the metals exported. It is by means of the produce of the land, and the happy situation of this island, joined to the industry of its inhabitants, that

those much adored metals, gold and silver, have been procured: and so long as the sea does not overflow the land, and industry continues, so long will those metals not be wanting. And paper in the general chain of credit and commerce, is as useful as they are: since the issuers or coiners of that paper are understood to have some equivalent to answer for what the paper is valued at: and no metal, or coin can do more than find its value.

Moreover, as incontestable advantages of paper, we must add, that the charge of coining or making it, is by no means proportionate to that of coining of metals: nor is it subject to waste by long use, or impaired by adulteration, sweating, or filing, as coins may.

ON POPULATION.

Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind, peopling of Countries, &c.

Written in Pennsylvania, 1751.

1. TABLES of the proportion of marriages to births, of deaths to births, of marriages to the number of inhabitants, &c. formed on observations made upon the bills of mortality, christenings, &c. of populous cities, will not suit countries; nor will tables, formed on observations made on full settled old countries, as Europe, suit new countries, as America.

2. For people increase in proportion to the number of marriages, and that is greater, in proportion to the ease and convenience of supporting a family. When families can be easily supported, more persons marry, and earlier in life.

3. In cities, where all trades, occupations, and offices, are full, many delay marrying, till they can see how to bear the charges of a family; which charges are greater in cities, as luxury is more common; many live single during life, and continue servants to families, journeymen to trade, &c. Hence cities do not, by natural generation, supply themselves with inhabitants; the deaths are more than the births.

4. In countries full settled, the case must be nearly the same, all lands being occupied and improved to the height ; those who cannot get land, must labor for others that have it ; when laborers are plenty, their wages will be low ; by low wages a family is supported with difficulty ; this difficulty deters many from marriage, who therefore long continue servants and single. Only as the cities take supplies of people from the country, and thereby make a little more room in the country, marriage is a little more encouraged there, and the births exceed the deaths.

5. Great part of Europe is fully settled with husbandmen, manufacturers, &c. and therefore cannot now much encrease in people. America is chiefly occupied by Indians, who subsist mostly by hunting. But as the hunter, of all men, requires the greatest quantity of land from whence to draw his subsistence, (the husbandman subsisting on much less, the gardner on still less, and the manufacturer requiring least of all) the Europeans found America as fully settled, as it well could be by hunters ; yet these, having large tracts, were easily prevailed on to part with portions of territory to the new-comers, who did not much interfere with the natives in hunting, and furnished them with many things they wanted.

6. Land being thus plenty in America, and so cheap, as that a laboring man, that understands husbandry, can, in a short time, save money enough to purchase a piece of new land, sufficient for a plantation, whereon he may subsist a family ; such are not afraid to marry ; for if they even look far enough forward to consider how their children, when grown up, are to be provided for, they see, that more land is to be had at rates equally easy, all circumstances considered.

7. Hence marriages in America are more general, and more generally early, than in Europe. And if it is reckoned here, that there is but one marriage *per annum* among 100 persons, perhaps we may here reckon two ; and if in Europe, they have but four births to a marriage, (many of

their marriages being late) we may here reckon eight, of which, if one half grow up, and our marriages are made, reckoning one with another, at twenty years of age, our people must at least be doubled every twenty years.

8. But notwithstanding this increase, so vast is the territory of North America, that it will require many ages to settle it fully, and till it is fully settled, labor will never be cheap here, where no man continues long a laborer for others, but gets a plantation of his own; no man continues long a journeyman to a trade, but goes among those new settlers, and sets up for himself, &c. Hence labor is no cheaper now, in Pennsylvania, than it was thirty years ago, though so many thousand laboring people have been imported from Germany and Ireland.

9. The danger, therefore, of these colonies interfering with their mother country in trades, that depend on labor, manufactures, &c. is too remote to require the attention of Great Britain.

10. But, in proportion to the increase of the colonies, a vast demand is growing for British manufactures; a glorious market, wholly in the power of Britain, in which foreigners cannot interfere, which will increase, in a short time, even beyond her power of supplying, though her whole trade should be to her colonies.

12. It is an ill grounded opinion, that by the labor of slaves, America may possibly vie in cheapness of manufactures with Britain. The labor of slaves can never be so cheap here, as the labor of working men is in Britain. Any one may compute it. Interest of money is in the colonies from 6 to 10 per cent. Slaves, one with another, cost 30*l*. sterling per head. Reckon then the interest of the first purchase of a slave, the insurance or risque on his life, his clothing and diet, expences in his sickness, and loss of time, loss by his neglect of business, (neglect is natural to the man, who is not to be benefited by his own care or diligence) expence of a driver to keep him at work, and his pilfering from time to time, almost every slave being, from the nature of slavery, a thief, and compare the whole

amount with the wages of a manufacturer of iron or wool in England, you will see, that labor is much cheaper there than it ever can be by negroes here. Why then will Americans purchase slaves? Because slaves may be kept as long as a man pleases, or has occasion for their labor, while hired men are continually leaving their master (often in the midst of his business) and setting up for themselves. § 8.

13. As the increase of people depends on the encouragement of marriages, the following things must diminish a nation, viz. 1. The being conquered; for the conquerors will engross as many offices, and exact as much tribute or profit on the labor of the conquered, as will maintain them in their new establishment; and this diminishing the substance of the natives discourages their marriages, and so gradually diminishes them, while the foreigners increase. 2. Loss of territory: thus the Britons, being driven into Wales, and crowded together in a barren country, insufficient to support such great numbers, diminished, till the people bore a proportion to the produce; while the Saxons increased on their abandoned lands, till the island became full of English. And, were the English now driven into Wales by some foreign nation, there would, in a few years, be no more Englishmen in Britain, than there are now people in Wales. 3. Loss of trade: manufactures, exported, draw subsistence from foreign countries for numbers, who are thereby enabled to marry and raise families. If the nation be deprived of any branch of trade, and no new employment is found for the people occupied in that branch, it will soon be deprived of so many people. 4. Loss of food: suppose a nation has a fishery, which not only employs great numbers, but makes the food and subsistence of the people cheaper: if another nation becomes master of the seas, and prevents the fishery, the people will diminish in proportion as the loss of employ and dearness of provision makes it more difficult to subsist a family. 5. Bad government and insecure property: people not only leave such a country, and, settling abroad, incorporate with other nations, lose their native language, and become foreigners;

but the industry of those that remain being discouraged, the quantity of subsistence in the country is lessened, and the support of a family becomes more difficult. So heavy taxes tend to diminish a people. 6. The introduction of slaves : the negroes brought into the English sugar islands have greatly diminished the whites there ; the poor are by this means deprived of employment, while a few families acquire vast estates, which they spend on foreign luxuries ; and educating their children in the habit of those luxuries, the same income is needed for the support of one, that might have maintained one hundred. The whites, who have slaves, not laboring, are enfeebled, and therefore not so generally prolific ; the slaves being worked too hard, and ill fed, their constitutions are broken, and the deaths among them are more than the births ; so that a continual supply is needed from Africa. The northern colonies, having few slaves, increase in whites. Slaves also pejorate the families that use them ; the white children become proud, disgusted with labor, and, being educated in idleness, are rendered unfit to get a living by industry.

14. Hence the prince, that acquires new territory, if he finds it vacant, or removes the natives to give his own people room ;—the legislator, that makes effectual laws for promoting of trade, increasing employment, improving land by more or better tillage, providing more food by fisheries, securing property, &c.—and the man that invents new trades, arts or manufactures, or new improvements in husbandry, may be properly called *fathers of their nation*, as they are the cause of the generation of multitudes, by the encouragement they afford to marriage.

15. As to privileges granted to the married, (such as the *jus trium liberorum* among the Romans) they may hasten the filling of a country, that has been thinned by war or pestilence, or that has otherwise vacant territory, but cannot increase a people beyond the means provided for their subsistence.

16. Foreign luxuries, and needless manufactures, imported and used in a nation, do, by the same reasoning increase

the people of the nation, that furnishes them, and diminish the people of the nation, that uses them. Laws, therefore, that prevent such importations, and, on the contrary, promote the exportation of manufactures to be consumed in foreign countries, may be called (with respect to the people that make them) *generative laws*, as, by increasing subsistence, they encourage marriage. Such laws likewise strengthen a country doubly, by increasing its own people, and diminishing its neighbors.

17. Some European nations prudently refuse to consume the manufactures of East India:—they should likewise forbid them to their colonies; for the gain to the merchant is not to be compared with the loss, by this means, of people to the nation.

18. Home luxury in the great, increases the nation's manufactures employed by it, who are many, and only tends to diminish the families that indulge in it, who are few. The greater the common fashionable expence of any rank of people, the more cautious they are of marriage. Therefore luxury should never be suffered to become common.

19. The great increase of offspring in particular families is not always owing to greater fecundity of nature, but sometimes to examples of industry in the heads, and industrious education, by which the children are enabled to provide better for themselves, and their marrying early is encouraged from the prospect of good subsistence.

20. If there be a sect, therefore, in our nation, that regards frugality and industry as religious duties, and educate their children therein, more than others commonly do, such sect must consequently increase more by natural generation than any other sect in Britain.

21. The importation of foreigners into a country, that has as many inhabitants as the present employments and provisions for subsistence will bear, will be in the end no increase of people, unless the new-comers have more industry and frugality than the natives, and then they will provide more subsistence, and increase in the country; but they will gradually eat the natives out.—Nor is it necessary

to bring in foreigners to fill up any occasional vacancy in a country ; for such vacancy (if the laws are good, § 14, 16) will soon be filled by natural generation. Who can now find the vacancy made in Sweden, France, or other warlike nations, by the plague of heroism 40 years ago ; in France, by the expulsion of the Protestants ; in England, by the settlement of her colonies ; or in Guinea, by a hundred years exportation of slaves, that has blackened half America ? The thinness of the inhabitants in Spain is owing to national pride, and idleness, and other causes, rather than to the expulsion of the Moors, or to the making of new settlements.

22. There is, in short, no bound to the prolific nature of plants or animals, but what is made by their crowding and interfering with each other's means of subsistence. Was the face of the earth vacant of other plants, it might be gradually sowed and overspread with one kind only, as for instance, with fennel ; and were it empty of other inhabitants, it might, in a few ages, be replenished from one nation only, as for instance, with Englishmen. Thus there are supposed to be now upwards of one million of English souls in North America (though it is thought scarce 80,000 have been brought over sea) and yet perhaps there is not one the fewer in Britain, but rather many more, on account of the employment the colonies afford to manufactures at home. This million doubling, suppose but once in twenty-five years, will, in another century, be more than the people of England, and the greatest number of Englishmen will be on this side the water. What an accession of power to the British empire by sea as well as land ! What increase of trade and navigation ! What numbers of ships and seamen ! We have been here but little more than a hundred years, and yet the force of our privateers in the late war, united, was greater, both in men and guns, than that of the whole British navy in queen Elizabeth's time. How important an affair then to Britain then is the present treaty?

5 The treaty of Utrecht, in 1751.

for settling the bounds between her colonies and the French! and how careful should she be to secure room enough, since on the room depends so much the increase of her people?

23. In fine, a nation well regulated is like a polypus,⁶ take away a limb, its place is soon supplied; cut it in two, and each deficient part shall speedily grow out of the part remaining. Thus, if you have room and subsistence enough, as you may say, by dividing, make ten polypuses out of one, you may, of one, make ten nations, equally populous and powerful; or, rather, increase a nation tenfold in numbers and strength.

RICHARD JACKSON, OF LONDON, TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
PHILADELPHIA.

Remarks on some of the foregoing Observations, showing particularly the Effects which Manners have on Population.

DEAR SIR,

IT is now near three years since I received your excellent *Observations on the Increase of Mankind, &c.* in which you have with so much sagacity and accuracy shown in what manner, and by what causes, that principal means of political grandeur is best promoted; and have so well supported those just inferences you have occasionally drawn, concerning the general state of our American colonies, and the views and conduct of some of the inhabitants of Great Britain.

You have abundantly proved, that natural fecundity is hardly to be considered, because the *vis generandi*, as far as we know, is unlimited, and because experience shows, that the numbers of nations is altogether governed by collateral causes, and among these none of so much force as the quantity of subsistence, whether arising from climate, soil, improvement of tillage, trade, fisheries, secure property, conquest of new countries, or other favorable circumstances.

⁶ A water insect, well known to naturalists.

As I perfectly concurred with you in your sentiments on these heads, I have been very desirous of building somewhat on the foundation you have there laid; and was induced, by your hints in the twenty-first section, to trouble you with some thoughts on the influence manners have always had, and are always likely to have, on the numbers of a people, and their political prosperity in general.

The end of every individual is its own private good. The rules it observes in the pursuit of this good are a system of propositions, almost every one founded in authority, that is, derive their weight from the credit given to one or more persons, and not from demonstration.

And this, in the most important as well as the other affairs of life, is the case even of the wisest and philosophical part of the human species; and that it should be so is the less strange, when we consider, that it is perhaps impossible to prove, that *being*, or life itself, has any other value than what is set on it by authority.

A confirmation of this may be derived from the observation, that, in every country in the universe, happiness is sought upon a different plan; and, even in the same country, we see it placed by different ages, professions, and ranks of men, in the attainment of enjoyments utterly unlike.

These propositions, as well as others framed upon them, become habitual by degrees, and, as they govern the determination of the will, I call them *moral habits*.

There are another set of habits, that have the direction of the members of the body, that I call therefore *mechanical habits*. These compose what we commonly call *the arts*, which are more or less liberal or mechanical, as they more or less partake of assistance from the operations of the mind.

The *cumulus* of the moral habits of each individual is the manners of that individual: the *cumulus* of the manners of individuals makes up the manners of a nation.

The happiness of individuals is evidently the ultimate end of political society; and political welfare, or the strength,

splendor, and opulence of the state, have been always admitted, both by political writers, and the valuable part of mankind in general, to conduce to this end, and are therefore desirable.

The causes, that advance or obstruct any one of these three objects, are external or internal. The latter may be divided into physical, civil, and personal, under which last head I comprehend the moral and mechanical habits of mankind. The physical causes are principally climate, soil, and number of persons ; the civil, are government and laws ; and political welfare is always in a ratio composed of the force of these particular causes ; a multitude of external causes, and all these internal ones, not only control and qualify, but are constantly acting on, and thereby insensibly, as well as sensibly, altering one another, both for the better and the worse, and this not excepting the climate itself.

The powerful efficacy of manners in encreasing a people is manifest from the instance you mention, the Quakers ; among them industry and frugality multiply and extend the use of the necessaries of life ; to manners of a like kind are owing the populousness of Holland, Swisserland, China, Japan, and most parts of Hindustan, &c. in every one of which, the force of extent of territory and fertility of soil is multiplied, or their want compensated by industry and frugality.

Neither nature nor art have contributed much to the production of subsistence in Swisserland, yet we see frugality preserves and even increases families, that live on their fortunes, and which, in England, we call the gentry ; and the observation we cannot but make in the southern part of this kingdom, that those families, including all superior ones, are gradually becoming extinct, affords the clearest proof, that luxury (that is, a greater expence of subsistence than in prudence a man ought to consume) is as destructive as a disproportionable want of it ; but in Scotland, as in Swisserland, the gentry, though one with another they have not one-fourth of the income, increase in number.

And here I cannot help remarking, by the bye, how well founded your distinction is between the increase of mankind in old and new settled countries in general, and more particularly in the case of families of condition. In America, where the expences are more confined to necessities, and those necessities are cheap, it is common to see above one hundred persons descended from one living old man. In England, it frequently happens, where a man has seven, eight, or more children, there has not been a descendant in the next generation, occasioned by the difficulties the number of children has brought on the family, in a luxurious dear country, and which have prevented their marrying.

That this is more owing to luxury than mere want, appears from what I have said of Scotland, and more plainly from parts of England remote from London, in most of which the necessities of life are nearly as dear, in some dearer than London, yet the people of all ranks marry and breed up children.

Again; among the lower ranks of life, none produce so few children as servants. This is, in some measure, to be attributed to their situation, which hinders marriage, but is also to be attributed to their luxury and corruption of manners, which are greater than among any other set of people in England, and is the consequence of a nearer view of the lives and persons of a superior rank, than any inferior rank, without a proper education, ought to have.

The quantity of subsistence in England has unquestionably become greater for many ages; and yet if the inhabitants are more numerous, they certainly are not so in proportion to our improvement of the means of support. I am apt to think there are few parts of this kingdom, that have not been at some former time more populous than at present. I have several cogent reasons for thinking so of great a part of the counties I am most intimately acquainted with; but as they were probably not all most populous at the same time, and as some of our towns are visibly and vastly grown in bulk, I dare not suppose, as judicious men have done, that England is less peopled than heretofore.

The growth of our towns is the effect of a change of manners, and improvement of arts, common to all Europe ; and though it is not imagined, that it has lessened the country growth of necessaries, it has evidently, by introducing a greater consumption of them, (an infallible consequence of a nation's dwelling in towns) counteracted the effects of our prodigious advances in the arts.

But however frugality may supply the place, or prodigality counteract the effects, of the natural, or acquired subsistence of a country, industry is, beyond doubt, a more efficacious cause of plenty than any natural advantage of extent or fertility. I have mentioned instances of frugality and industry united with extent and fertility. In Spain and Asia Minor, we see frugality joined to extent and fertility, without industry ; in Ireland, we once saw the same ; Scotland had then none of them but frugality. The change in these two countries is obvious to every one, and it is owing to industry not yet very widely diffused in either. The effects of industry and frugality in England are surprising ; both the rent and the value of the inheritance of land depend on them greatly more than on nature, and this, though there is no considerable difference in the prices of our markets. Land of equal goodness lets for double the rent of other land lying in the same country, and there are many years purchase difference between different counties, where rents are equally well paid and secure.

Thus manners operate upon the number of inhabitants, but of their silent effects upon a civil constitution, history, and even our own experience, yields us abundance of proofs, though they are not uncommonly attributed to external causes : their support of a government against external force is so great, that it is a common maxim among the advocates of liberty, that no free government was ever dissolved, or overcome, before the manners of its subjects were corrupted.

The superiority of Greece over Persia was singly owing to their difference of manners ; and that, though all natural advantages were on the side of the latter, to which I might

add the civil ones ; for though the greatest of all civil advantages, liberty, was on the side of Greece, yet that added no political strength to her, other than as it operated on her manners, and, when they were corrupted, the restoration of their liberty by the Romans, overturned the remains of their power.

Whether the manners of ancient Rome were at any period calculated to promote the happiness of individuals, it is not my design to examine ; but that their manners, and the effects of those manners on their government and public conduct, founded, enlarged, and supported, and afterwards overthrew their empire, is beyond all doubt. One of the effects of their conquest furnishes us with a strong proof, how prevalent manners are even beyond the quantity of subsistence ; for, when the custom of bestowing on the citizens of Rome corn enough to support themselves and families, was become established, and Egypt and Sicily produced the grain, that fed the inhabitants of Italy, this became less populous every day, and the *jus trium liberorum* was but an expedient, that could not balance the want of industry and frugality.

But corruption of manners did not only thin the inhabitants of the Roman empire, but it rendered the remainder incapable of defence, long before its fall, perhaps before the dissolution of the republic ; so that without standing disciplined armies, composed of men, whose moral habits principally, and mechanical habits secondarily, made them different from the body of the people, the Roman empire had been a prey to the barbarians many ages before it was.

By the mechanical habits of the soldiery, I mean their discipline, and the art of war ; and that this is but a secondary quality, appears from the inequality that has in all ages been between raw, though well disciplined armies, and veterans, and more from the irresistible force a single moral habit, religion, has conferred on troops, frequently neither disciplined nor experienced.

The military manners of the noblesse in France, compose the chief force of that kingdom, and the enterprising man-

nors and restless dispositions of the inhabitants of Canada, have enabled a handful of men to harass our populous, and generally less martial colonies ; yet neither are of the value they seem at first sight, because overbalanced by the defect they occasion of other habits, that would produce more eligible political good : and military manners in a people are not necessary in an age and country where such manners may be occasionally formed and preserved among men enough to defend the state ; and such a country is Great Britain, where, though the lower class of people are by no means of a military cast, yet they make better soldiers than even the noblesse of France.

The inhabitants of this country, a few ages back, were to the populous and rich provinces of France, what Canada is now to the British colonies. It is true, there was less disproportion between their natural strength ; but I mean, that the riches of France were a real weakness, opposed to the military manners founded upon poverty and a rugged disposition, than the character of the English ; but it must be remembered, that at this time the manners of a people were not distinct from that of their soldiery, for the use of standing armies has deprived a military people of the advantages they before had over others ; and though it has been often said, that civil wars give power, because they render all men soldiers, I believe this has only been found true in internal wars following civil wars, and not in external ones ; for now, in foreign wars, a small army, with ample means to support it, is of greater force than one more numerous, with less. This last fact has often happened between France and Germany.

The means of supporting armies, and consequently the power of exerting external strength, are best found in the industry and frugality of the body of a people living under a government and laws, that encourage commerce : for commerce is at this day almost the only stimulus, that forces every one to contribute a share of labor for the public benefit.

But such is the human frame, and the world is so constituted, that it is a hard matter to possess one's self of a benefit, without laying one's self open to a loss on some other side; the improvements of manners of one sort often deprave those of another: thus we see industry and frugality under the influence of commerce, which I call a commercial spirit, tend to destroy, as well as support, the government it flourishes under.

Commerce perfects the arts, but more the mechanical than the liberal, and this for an obvious reason; it softens and enervates the manners. Steady virtue and unbending integrity are seldom to be found where a spirit of commerce pervades every thing; yet the perfection of commerce is, that every thing should have its price. We every day see its progress, both to our benefit and detriment here. Things, that *boni mores* forbid to be set to sale, are become its objects, and there are few things indeed *extra commercium*. The legislative power itself has been *in commercio*, and church livings are seldom given without consideration, even by sincere Christians, and, for consideration, not seldom to very unworthy persons. The rudeness of ancient military times, and the fury of more modern enthusiastic ones are worn off; even the spirit of forensic contention is astonishingly diminished, all marks of manners softening; but luxury and corruption have taken their places, and seem the inseparable companions of commerce and the arts.

I cannot help observing, however, that this is much more the case in extensive countries, especially at their metropolis, than in other places. It is an old observation of politicians, and frequently made by historians, that small states always best preserve their manners. Whether this happens from the greater room there is for attention in the legislature, or from the less room there is for ambition and avarice, it is a strong argument, among others, against an incorporating union of the colonies in America, or even a federal one, that may tend to the future reducing them under one government.

Their power, while disunited, is less, but their liberty, as well as manners, is more secure ; and, considering the little danger of any conquest to be made upon them, I had rather they should suffer something through disunion, than see them under a general administration less equitable than that concerted at Albany.⁷

I take it, the inhabitants of Pennsylvania are both frugal and industrious beyond those of any province in America. If luxury should spread, it cannot be extirpated by laws. We are told by Plutarch, that Plato used to say, *It was a hard thing to make laws for the Cyrenians, a people abounding in plenty and opulence.*

But from what I set out with, it is evident, if I be not mistaken, that education only can stem the torrent, and, without checking either true industry or frugality, prevent the sordid frugality and laziness of the old Irish, and many of the modern Scotch, (I mean the inhabitants of that country, those who leave it for another being generally industrious) or the industry, mixed with luxury, of this capital, from getting ground, and, by rendering ancient manners familiar, produce a reconciliation between disinterestedness and commerce ; a thing we often see, but almost always in men of a liberal education.

To conclude : when we would form a people, soil and climate may be found at least sufficiently good ; inhabitants may be encouraged to settle, and even supported for a while ; a good government and laws may be framed, and even arts may be established, or their produce imported : but many necessary moral habits are hardly ever found among those who voluntarily offer themselves in times of quiet at home, to people new colonies ; besides, that the moral, as well as mechanical habits, adapted to a mother country, are frequently not so to the new settled one, and to external events, many of which are always unforeseen. Hence it is we have seen such fruitless attempts to settle colonies, at an immense public and private expence, by se-

⁷ The reader will see page 1, of this volume.

veral of the powers of Europe: and it is particularly observable, that none of the English colonies became any way considerable, till the necessary manners were born and grew up in the country, excepting those to which singular circumstances at home forced manners fit for the forming a new state.

I am, Sir, &c.

R. J.

Plan, by Messieurs Franklin and Dalrymple, for benefitting distant unprovided Countries.⁸

Aug. 29, 1771.

THE country called in the maps New Zealand, has been discovered by the Endeavor, to be two islands, together as large as Great Britain: these islands, named Acpy-nomawée, and Tovy-poennammoo, are inhabited by a brave and generous race, who are destitute of *corn, fowls, and all quadrupeds*, except *dogs*.

These circumstances being mentioned lately in a company of men of liberal sentiments, it was observed, that it seemed incumbent on such a country as this, to communicate to all others the conveniences of life, which we enjoy.

Dr. Franklin, whose life has ever been directed to promote the true interest of society, said, "he would with all his heart *subscribe* to a voyage intended to communicate *in general* those benefits which we enjoy, to countries destitute of them in the remote parts of the globe." This proposition being warmly adopted by the rest of the company, Mr. Dalrymple, then present, was induced to offer to undertake the command on such an expedition.

On mature reflection, this scheme appears the more honorable to the national character of any which can be conceived, as it is grounded on the noblest principle of benevolence. Good intentions are often frustrated by letting

⁸ These proposals were printed upon a sheet of paper, and distributed. The parts written by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Dalrymple are easily distinguished.

them remain indigested; on this consideration Mr. Dalrymple was induced to put the outlines on paper, which are now published, that by an early communication there may be a better opportunity of collecting all the hints, which can conduce to execute effectually the benevolent purpose of the expedition, in case it should meet with general approbation.

On this scheme being shown to Dr. Franklin, he communicated his sentiments, by way of introduction, to the following effect :

“ Britain is said to have produced originally nothing but *sloes*. What vast advantages have been communicated to her by the fruits, seeds, roots, herbage, animals, and arts of other countries ! We are by their means become a wealthy and a mighty nation, abounding in all good things. Does not some *duty* hence arise from us towards other countries, still remaining in our former state ?

“ Britain is now the first maritime power in the world. Her ships are innumerable, capable by their form, size, and strength, of sailing on all seas. Our seamen are equally bold, skilful, and hardy ; dextrous in exploring the remotest regions, and ready to engage in voyages to unknown countries, though attended with the greatest dangers. The inhabitants of those countries, our *fellow men*, have canoes only ; not knowing iron, they cannot build ships ; they have little astronomy, and no knowledge of the compass to guide them ; they cannot therefore come to us, or obtain any of our advantages. From these circumstances, does not some duty seem to arise from us to them ? Does not Providence, by these distinguishing favors, seem to call on us, to do something ourselves for the common interest of humanity !

“ Those who think it their duty, to ask bread and other blessings daily from heaven, would they not think it equally a duty, to communicate of those blessings when they have received them, and show their gratitude to their great Benefactor by the only means in their power, promoting the happiness of his other children ?

D d

Ceres is said to have made a journey through many countries to teach the use of corn, and the art of raising it.— For this single benefit the grateful nations deified her. How much more may Englishmen deserve such honor, by communicating the knowledge and use not of corn only, but of all the other enjoyments the earth can produce, and which they are now in possession of. *Communiter bona profundere, Deum est.*

Many voyages have been undertaken with views of profit or of plunder, or to gratify resentment; to procure some advantage to ourselves, or do some mischief to others: but a voyage is now proposed, to visit a distant people on the other side the globe; not to cheat them, not to rob them, not to seize their lands, or enslave their persons; but merely to do them good, and make them, as far as in our power lies, to live as comfortably as ourselves.

“It seems a laudable wish, that all the nations of the earth were connected by a knowledge of each other; and a mutual exchange of benefits: but a commercial nation particularly should wish for a general civilization of mankind, since trade is always carried on to much greater extent with people who have the arts and conveniences of life, than it can be with naked savages. We may therefore hope, in this undertaking, to be of some service to our country as well as to those poor people, who, however distant from us, are in truth related to us, and whose interests do, in some degree, concern every one who can say, *Homo sum, &c.*”

Scheme of a voyage, by subscription, to convey the conveniences of life, as fowls, hogs, goats, cattle, corn, iron, &c. to those remote regions, which are destitute of them, and to bring from thence such productions, as can be cultivated in this kingdom to the advantage of society, in a ship under the command of Alexander Dalrymple.

Catt or bark, from the coal trade,			£
of 350 tons, estimated at about	-	-	2000
Extra expences, stores, boats, &c.	-	-	3000

To be manned with 60 men at 4 per man per month

240

12

2880 per annum

3

Wages and provisions 8640 for three years 8640

13640

Cargo included, supposed - - - - £15000

The expences of this expedition are calculated for *three* years: but the greatest part of the amount of wages will not be wanted till the ship returns, and a great part of the expence of provisions will be saved by what is obtained in the course of the voyage, by barter, or otherwise though it is proper to make provision for contingencies.

TO DR. PERCIVAL.

Concerning the Provision made in China against Famine.

I HAVE somewhere read, that in China an account is yearly taken of the number of people, and the quantities of provision produced. This account is transmitted to the emperor, whose ministers can thence foresee a scarcity, likely to happen in any province, and from what province it can best be supplied in good time. To facilitate the collecting of this account, and prevent the necessity of entering houses and spending time in asking and answering questions, each house is furnished with a little board, to be hung without the door during a certain time each year; on which board are marked certain words, against which the inhabitant is to mark the number and quantity, somewhat in this manner:

Men,
Women,
Children,
Rice, or Wheat,
Flesh, &c.

All under sixteen are accounted children, and all above, men and women. Any other particulars, which the government desires information of, are occasionally marked on the same boards. Thus the officers, appointed to collect the accounts in each district, have only to pass before the doors, and enter into their book what they find marked on the board, without giving the least trouble to the family. There is a penalty on marking falsely, and as neighbors must know nearly the truth of each other's account, they dare not expose themselves, by a false one, to each other's accusation. Perhaps such a regulation is scarcely practicable with us⁹.

Positions to be examined, concerning national Wealth¹.

1. ALL food or subsistence for mankind arise from the earth or waters.

2. Necessaries of life, that are not foods, and all other conveniences, have their values estimated by the proportion of food consumed while we are employed in procuring them.

3. A small people, with a large territory, may subsist on the productions of nature, with no other labor than that of gathering the vegetables and catching the animals,

4. A large people, with a small territory, finds these insufficient, and, to subsist, must labor the earth, to make it produce greater quantities of vegetable food, suitable for the nourishment of men, and of the animals they intend to eat.

5. From this labour arises a *great increase* of vegetable and animal food, and of materials for clothing, as flax, wool, silk, &c. The superfluity of these is wealth. With this wealth we pay for the labor employed in building our

⁹ The above passage is taken from Dr. Percival's Essays, Vol. III. p. 25; being an extract from a letter written to him, by Dr. Franklin, on the subject of his observations on the state of population in Manchester, and other adjacent places.

¹ This article has been inserted in The British Repository for select Papers on Agriculture, Arts, and Manufactures. Vol. I. p. 350.

houses, cities, &c. which are therefore only subsistence thus metamorphosed.

6. *Manufactures* are only *another shape* into which so much provisions and subsistence are turned, as were equal in value to the manufactures produced. This appears from hence, that the manufacturer does not, in fact, obtain from the employer, for his labor, *more* than a mere subsistence, including raiment, fuel, and shelter: all which derive their value from the provisions consumed in procuring them.

7. The produce of the earth, thus converted into manufactures, may be more easily carried to distant markets than before such conversion.

8. *Fair commerce* is, where equal values are exchanged for equal, the expence of transport included. Thus, if it costs A in England as much labor and charge to raise a bushel of wheat, as it cost B in France to produce four gallons of wine, then are four gallons of wine the fair exchange for a bushel of wheat, A and B meeting at half distance with their commodities to make the exchange. The advantage of this fair commerce is, that each party increases the number of his enjoyments, having, instead of wheat alone, or wine alone, the use of both wheat and wine.

9. Where the labor and expence of producing both commodities are known to both parties, bargains will generally be fair and equal. Where they are known to one party only, bargains will often be unequal, knowledge taking its advantage of ignorance.

10. Thus he, that carries one thousand bushels of wheat abroad to sell, may not probably obtain so great a profit thereon, as if he had first turned the wheat into manufactures, by subsisting therewith the workmen while producing those manufactures: since there are many expediting and facilitating methods of working, not generally known; and strangers to the manufactures, though they know pretty well the expence of raising wheat, are unacquainted with those short methods of working, and thence, being apt to suppose more labor employed in the manufactures than there

really is, are more easily imposed on in their value, and induced to allow more for them than they are honestly worth.

11. Thus the advantage of having manufactures in a country does not consist, as is commonly supposed, in their highly advancing the value of rough materials, of which they are formed; since, though six-pennyworth of flax may be worth twenty shillings when worked into lace, yet the very cause of its being worth twenty shillings, is, that, besides the flax, it has cost nineteen shillings and sixpence in subsistence to the manufacturer. But the advantage of manufactures is, that under their shape provisions may be more easily carried to a foreign market; and by their means our traders may more easily cheat strangers. Few, where it is not made, are judges of the value of lace. The importer may demand forty, and perhaps get thirty shillings for that, which cost him but twenty.

12. Finally, there seem to be but three ways for a nation to acquire wealth. The first is by *war*, as the Romans did, in plundering their conquered neighbors. This is *robbery*.—The second by *commerce*, which is generally *cheating*.—The third by *agriculture*, the only *honest way*, wherein man receives a real increase of the seed thrown into the ground, in a kind of continual miracle wrought by the hand of God in his favor, as a reward for his innocent life, and his virtuous industry.

B. FRANKLIN.

April 4, 1769.

The following extracts of a letter signed Columella, and addressed to the editors of the British Repository for select Papers on Agriculture, Arts, and Manufactures (see Vol. I. p. 352) will serve the purpose of preparing those who read it, for entering upon the next paper.

“GENTLEMEN,

“THERE is now publishing in France a periodical work, called *Ephemeridis du Citoyen*, in which several points, interesting to those concerned in agriculture, are from time to time discussed by some able hands. In looking over one of the volumes of this work a few days ago, I found a little piece written by one of our countrymen, and which our vigilant neighbors had taken from the London Chronicle in 1766. The author is a gentleman well known to every man

On the Price of Corn, and Management of the Poor.

TO MESSIEURS THE PUBLIC.

I AM one of that class of people, that feeds you all, and at present is abused by you all ;—in short, I am a *farmer*.

By your newspapers we are told, that God had sent a very short harvest to some other countries of Europe. I thought this might be in favor of Old England; and that now we should get a good price for our grain, which would bring millions among us, and make us flow in money: that to be sure is scarce enough.

But the wisdom of government forbade the exportation².

Well, says I, then we must be content with the market price at home.

No; say my lords the mob, you sha'nt have that. Bring your corn to market if you dare ;—we'll sell it for you, for less money, or take it for nothing.

Being thus attacked by both ends of *the constitution*, the head and tail of *government*, what am I to do?

Must I keep my corn in the barn, to feed and increase the breed of rats?—be it so; they cannot be less thankful than those I have been used to feed.

Are we farmers the only people to be grudged the profits of our honest labor?—And why? One of the late scribblers against us gives a bill of fare of the provisions at my daughter's wedding, and proclaims to all the world, that we had the insolence to eat beef and pudding!—Has he not

of letters in Europe, and perhaps there is none, in this age, to whom mankind in general are more indebted.

"That this piece may not be lost to our own country, I beg you will give it a place in your *Repository*: it was written in favor of the farmers, when they suffered so much abuse in our public papers, and were also plundered by the mob in many places."

The principles on which this piece is grounded are given more at large in the preceding articles.

2 It is not necessary to repeat in what degree Dr. Franklin respected the ministers, to whom he alludes.—The embargo upon corn was but a single measure, which, it is enough to say, an host of politicians thought well advised, but ill defended.

read the precept in the good book, *thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn*; or does he think us less worthy of good living than our oxen?

O, but the manufacturers! the manufacturers! they are to be favored, and they must have bread at a cheap rate!

Hark ye, Mr. Oaf:—The farmers live splendidly, you say. And pray, would you have them hoard the money they get? Their fine clothes and furniture, do they make them themselves, or for one another, and so keep the money among them? Or, do they employ these your darling manufacturers, and so scatter it again all over the nation?

The wool would produce me a better price, if it were suffered to go to foreign markets; but that, Messieurs the Public, your laws will not permit. It must be kept all at home, that our *dear* manufacturers may have it the cheaper. And then, having yourselves thus lessened our encouragement for raising sheep, you curse us for the scarcity of mutton!

I have heard my grandfather say, that the farmers submitted to the prohibition on the exportation of wool, being made to expect and believe, that when the manufacturer bought his wool cheaper, they should also have their cloth cheaper. But the deuce a bit. It has been growing dearer and dearer from that day to this. How so? Why, truly, the cloth is exported: and that keeps up the price.

Now if it be a good principle, that the exportation of a commodity is to be restrained, that so our people at home may have it the cheaper; stick to that principle, and go thorough stitch with it. Prohibit the exportation of your cloth, your leather, and shoes, your iron-ware, and your manufactures of all sorts, to make them all cheaper at home. And cheap enough they will be, I will warrant you—till people leave off making them.

Some folks seem to think they ought never to be easy till England becomes another Lubberland, where it is fancied the streets are paved with penny-rolls, the houses tiled with pancakes, and chickens, ready roasted, cry, come eat me.

I say, when you are sure you have got a good principle, stick to it, and carry it through.—I hear it is said, that though it was *necessary and right* for the ministry to advise a prohibition of the exportation of corn, yet it was *contrary to law*; and also, that though it was *contrary to law* for the mob to obstruct waggons, yet it was *necessary and right*. Just the same thing to a tittle. Now they tell me, an act of indemnity ought to pass in favor of the ministry, to secure them from the consequences of having acted illegally.—If so, pass another in favor of the mob. Others say, some of the mob ought to be hanged, by way of example.....If so,—but I say no more than I have said before, *when you are sure that you have a good principle, go through with it.*

You say, poor laborers cannot afford to buy bread at a high price; unless they had higher wages.—Possibly.—But how shall we farmers be able to afford our laborers higher wages, if you will not allow us to get, when we might have it, a higher price for our corn?

By all that I can learn, we should at least have had a guinea a quarter more, if the exportation had been allowed. And this money England would have got from foreigners.

But, it seems; we farmers must take so much less, that the poor may have it so much cheaper.

This operates then as a tax for the maintenance of the poor. A very good thing, you will say. But I ask, why a partial tax? why laid on us farmers only? If it be a good thing, pray, messieurs the Public, take your share of it, by indemnifying us a little out of your public treasury. In doing a good thing, there is both honor and pleasure—you are welcome to your share of both.

For my own part, I am not so well satisfied of the goodness of this thing. I am for doing good to the poor, but I differ in opinion about the means. I think the best way of doing good to the poor, is, not making them easy in poverty, but leading or driving them out of it. In my youth I travelled much, and I observed in different countries, that the more public provisions were made for the poor, the less they provided for themselves, and of course became poorer.

And on the contrary, the less was done for them, the more they did for themselves, and became richer. There is no country in the world where so many provisions are established for them; so many hospitals to receive them when they are sick or lame, founded and maintained by voluntary charities; so many alms houses for the aged of both sexes, together with a solemn general law made by the rich to subject their estates to a heavy tax for the support of the poor. Under all these obligations, are our poor modest, humble, and thankful? And do they use their best endeavors to maintain themselves, and lighten our shoulders of this burden? On the contrary, I affirm, that there is no country in the world in which the poor are more idle, dissolute, drunken, and insolent. The day you passed that act, you took away from before their eyes the greatest of all inducements to industry, frugality, and sobriety, by giving them a dependence on somewhat else than a careful accumulation during youth and health, for support in age or sickness. In short, you offered a premium for the encouragement of idleness, and you should not now wonder, that it has had its effect in the increase of poverty. Repeal that law, and you will soon see a change in their manners, *Saint Monday*, and *Saint Tuesday*, will soon cease to be holidays. *Six days shalt thou labor*, though one of the old commandments long treated as out of date, will again be looked upon as a respectable precept; industry will increase, and with it plenty among the lower people; their circumstances will mend, and more will be done for their happiness by inuring them to provide for themselves, than could be done by dividing all your estates among them.

Excuse me, messieurs the Public, if upon this *interesting* subject, I put you to the trouble of reading a little of *my* nonsense; I am sure I have lately read a great deal of *yours*, and therefore from you (at least from those of you who are writers) I deserve a little indulgence.

I am yours, &c.

ARATOR.

³ The late Mr. Owen Ruffhead, being some time employed in preparing a digest of the British poor laws, communicated a copy of it to Dr. Franklin for

ON SMUGGLING, AND ITS VARIOUS SPECIES.⁴

SIR,

THERE are many people that would be thought, and even think themselves, *honest* men, who fail nevertheless in particular points of honesty; deviating from that character sometimes by the prevalence of mode or custom, and sometimes through mere inattention; so that their *honesty* is partial only, and not *general* or universal. Thus one, who would scorn to over-reach you in a bargain, shall make no scruple of tricking you a little now and then at cards; another, that plays with the utmost fairness, shall with great freedom cheat you in the sale of a horse. But there is no kind of dishonesty, into which otherwise good people more easily and frequently fall, than that of defrauding government of its revenues by smuggling when they have an opportunity, or encouraging smugglers by buying their goods.

I fell into these reflections the other day, on hearing two gentlemen of reputation discoursing about a small estate, which one of them was inclined to sell, and the other to buy; when the seller, in recommending the place, remarked, that its situation was very advantageous on this account, that, being on the sea-coast in a smuggling country, one had frequent opportunities of buying many of the expensive articles used in a family (such as tea, coffee, chocolate, brandy, wines, cambrics, Brussels laces, French silks, and all kinds of India goods), 20, 30, and in some articles 50 *per cent.* cheaper, than they could be had in the more interior parts, of traders that paid duty.—The other *honest* gentleman allowed this to be an advantage, but insisted,

his advice. Dr. Franklin recommended, that provision should be made therein for the printing on a sheet of paper and dispersing, in each parish in the kingdom, annual accounts of every disbursement and receipt of its officers. It is obvious to remark, how greatly this must tend to check both the officers and the poor, and to inform and interest the parishioners with respect to parish concerns.—In some of the American states this measure is pursued with success.

⁴ This letter was published in the London Chronicle, for November 24, 1767; and addressed to the printer of that newspaper.

that the seller, in the advanced price he demanded on **that** account, rated the advantage much above its value. And neither of them seemed to think dealing with smugglers a practice, that an *honest* man (provided he got his goods cheap) had the least reason to be ashamed of.

At a time when the load of our public debt, and the heavy expence of maintaining our fleets and armies to be ready for our defence on occasion, makes it necessary, not only to continue old taxes, but often to look out for new ones, perhaps it may not be unuseful to state this matter in a light, that few seem to have considered it in.

The people of Great Britain, under the happy constitution of this country, have a privilege few other countries enjoy, that of chusing the third branch of the legislature, which branch has alone the power of regulating their taxes. Now whenever the government finds it necessary for the common benefit, advantage, and safety of the nation, for the security of our liberties, property, religion, and every thing that is dear to us, that certain sums shall be yearly raised by taxes, duties, &c. and paid into the public treasury, thence to be dispensed by government for those purposes; ought not every *honest man* freely and willingly to pay his just proportion of this necessary expence? Can he possibly preserve a right to that character, if, by fraud, stratagem, or contrivance, he avoids that payment in whole or in part.

What should we think of a companion, who, having supped with his friends at a tavern, and partaken equally of the joys of the evening with the rest of us, would nevertheless contrive by some artifice to shift his share of the reckoning upon others, in order to go off scot-free? If a man who practised this, would, when detected, be deemed and called a scoundrel, what ought he to be called, who can enjoy all the inestimable benefits of public society, and yet by smuggling, or dealing with smugglers, contrive to evade paying his just share of the expence, as settled by his own representatives in parliament; and wrongfully throw it upon his honester and perhaps much poorer neighbors? He will

perhaps be ready to tell me, that he does not wrong his neighbors; he scorns the imputation, he only cheats the king a little, who is very able to bear it. This however is a mistake. The public treasure is the treasure of the nation, to be applied to national purposes. And when a duty is laid for a particular public and necessary purpose, if, through smuggling, that duty falls short of raising the sum required, and other duties must therefore be laid to make up the deficiency, all the additional sum laid by the new duties and paid by other people, though it should amount to no more than a half-penny or a farthing per head, is so much actually picked out of the pockets of those other people by the smugglers and their abettors and encouragers. Are they then any better or other than pick-pockets? and what mean, low, rascally pick-pockets must those be, that can pick pockets for halfpence and for farthings?

I would not however be supposed to allow in what I have just said, that cheating the king is a less offence against honesty, than cheating the public. The king and the public in this case are different names for the same thing; but if we consider the king distinctly it will not lessen the crime: it is no justification of a robbery, that the person robbed was rich and able to bear it. The king has as much right to justice as the meanest of his subjects; and as he is truly the common *father* of his people, those that rob him fall under the scripture woe, pronounced against the son *that robbeth his father, and saith it is no sin.*

Mean as this practice is, do we not daily see people of character and fortune engaged in it for trifling advantages to themselves?—Is any lady ashamed to request of a gentleman of her acquaintance, that when he returns from abroad, he would smuggle her home a piece of silk or lace from France or Flanders? Is any gentleman ashamed to undertake and execute the commission?—Not in the least. They will talk of it freely, even before others whose pockets they are thus contriving to pick by this piece of knavery.

Among other branches of the revenue, that of the post-office is, by a late law, appropriated to the discharge of our

public debt, to defray the expences of the state. None but members of parliament, and a few public officers have now a right to avoid, by a frank, the payment of postage. When any letter, not written by them or on their business, is franked by any of them, it is a hurt to the revenue, an injury which they must now take the pains to conceal by writing the whole superscription themselves. And yet such is our insensibility to justice in this particular, that nothing is more common than to see, even in a reputable company, a *very honest* gentleman or lady declare his or her intention to cheat the nation of three-pence by a frank, and without blushing apply to one of the very legislators themselves, with a modest request, that he would be pleased to become an accomplice in the crime, and assist in the perpetration.

There are those who by these practices take a great deal in a year out of the public purse, and put the money into their own private pockets. If, passing through a room where public treasure is deposited, a man takes the opportunity of clandestinely pocketing and carrying off a guinea, is he not truly and properly a thief? And if another evades paying into the treasury a guinea he ought to pay in, and applies it to his own use, when he knows it belongs to the public as much as that which has been paid in, what difference is there in the nature of the crime, or the baseness of committing it?

Some laws make the receiving of stolen goods equally penal with stealing, and upon this principle, that if there were no receivers, there would be few thieves. Our proverb too says truly, that *the receiver is as bad as the thief*. By the same reasoning, as there would be few smugglers, if there were none who knowingly encouraged them by buying their goods, we may say, that the encouragers of smuggling are as bad as the smugglers; and that, as smugglers are a kind of thieves, both equally deserve the punishments of thievery.

In this view of wronging the revenue, what must we think of those who can evade paying for their wheels⁵ and

⁵ Alluding to the British taxes on carriage wheels, and on plate.

their plate, in defiance of law and justice, and yet declaim against corruption and speculation, as if their own hands and hearts were pure and unsullied? The Americans offend us grievously, when, contrary to our laws, they smuggle goods into their own country: and yet they had no hand in making those laws. I do not however pretend from thence to justify them. But I think the offence much greater in those who either directly or indirectly have been concerned in making the very laws they break. And when I hear them exclaiming against the Americans, and for every little infringement of the acts of trade, or obstruction given by a petty mob to an officer of our customs in that country, calling for vengeance against the whole people as **REBELS** and **traitors**, I cannot help thinking there are still those in the world who can see a mote in their brother's eye, while they do not discern a beam in their own; and that the old saying is as true now as ever it was, *one man may better steal a horse, than another look over the hedge.*

B. F.

OBSERVATIONS ON WAR.

BY the original law of nations, war and extirpation were the punishment of injury. Humanizing by degrees, it admitted slavery instead of death: a farther step was the exchange of prisoners instead of slavery: another, to respect more the property of private persons under conquest, and be content with acquired dominion. Why should not this law of nations go on improving? Ages have intervened between its several steps: but as knowledge of late increases rapidly, why should not those steps be quickened? Why should it not be agreed to, as the future law of nations, that in any war hereafter the following description of men should be undisturbed, have the protection of both sides, and be permitted to follow their employments in security? viz.

1. Cultivators of the earth, because they labor for the subsistence of mankind,

2. Fishermen, for the same reason.

3. Merchants and traders in unarmed ships, who accommodate different nations by communicating and exchanging the necessaries and conveniences of life.

4. Artists and mechanics, inhabiting and working in open towns.

It is hardly necessary to add, that the hospitals of enemies should be unmolested—they ought to be assisted. It is for the interest of humanity in general, that the occasions of war, and the inducements to it, should be diminished. If rapine be abolished, one of the encouragements to war is taken away; and peace therefore more likely to continue and be lasting.

The practice of robbing merchants on the high seas—a remnant of the ancient piracy—though it may be accidentally beneficial to particular persons, is far from being profitable to all engaged in it, or to the nation that authorises it. In the beginning of a war, some rich ships are surprised and taken. This encourages the first adventurers to fit out more armed vessels, and many others to do the same. But the enemy at the same time become more careful, arm their merchant ships better, and render them not so easy to be taken: they go also more under the protection of convoys. Thus, while the privateers to take them are multiplied, the vessels subject to be taken, and the chances of profit, are diminished; so that many cruises are made wherein the expences overgo the gains, and as is the case in other lotteries, though particulars have got prizes, the mass of adventurers are losers, the whole expence of fitting out all the privateers during a war being much greater than the whole amount of goods taken.

Then there is the national loss of all the labor of so many men during the time they have been employed in robbing, who besides spend what they get in riot, drunkenness, and debauchery, lose their habits of industry, are rarely fit for any sober business after a peace, and serve only to increase the number of highwaymen and housebreakers. Even the undertakers, who have been fortunate, are by sudden wealth

led into expensive living, the habit of which continues when the means of supporting it cease, and finally ruins them: a just punishment for their having wantonly and unfeelingly ruined many honest, innocent traders and their families, whose subsistence was employed in serving the common interest of mankind.

TO BENJAMIN VAUGHAN, ESQ.⁶

On Luxury, Idleness, and Industry.

Written in 1784.

IT is wonderful how preposterously the affairs of this world are managed. Naturally one would imagine, that the interest of a few individuals should give way to general interest; but individuals manage their affairs with so much more application, industry, and address, than the public do theirs, that general interest most commonly gives way to particular. We assemble parliaments and councils, to have the benefit of their collected wisdom; but we necessarily have, at the same time, the inconvenience of their collected passions, prejudices, and private interests. By the help of these, artful men overpower their wisdom, and dupe its possessors: and if we may judge by the acts, arrests, and edicts, all the world over, for regulating commerce, an assembly of great men is the greatest fool upon earth.

I have not yet, indeed, thought of a remedy for luxury. I am not sure that in a great state it is capable of a remedy, nor that the evil is in itself always so great as it is represented. Suppose we include in the definition of luxury all unnecessary expence, and then let us consider, whether laws to prevent such expence are possible to be executed in a great country, and whether, if they could be executed, our people generally would be happier, or even richer. Is

⁶ This letter is taken from a periodical publication, that existed only for a short period, entitled, *The Repository*, to which it was communicated, by the person to whom it is addressed.

not the hope of being one day able to purchase and enjoy luxuries, a great spur to labor and industry? May not luxury therefore produce more than it consumes, if, without such a spur, people would be, as they are naturally enough inclined to be, lazy and indolent? To this purpose I remember a circumstance. The skipper of a shallop, employed between Cape-May and Philadelphia, had done us some small service, for which he refused to be paid. My wife, understanding that he had a daughter, sent her a present of a new-fashioned cap. Three years after, this skipper being at my house with an old farmer of Cape-May, his passenger, he mentioned the cap, and how much his daughter had been pleased with it. "But," said he, "it proved a dear cap to our congregation." "How so?" "When my daughter appeared with it at meeting, it was so much admired, that all the girls resolved to get such caps from Philadelphia; and my wife and I computed, that the whole could not have cost less than a hundred pounds." "True (said the farmer), but you do not tell all the story. I think the cap was nevertheless an advantage to us, for it was the first thing that put our girls upon knitting worsted mittens for sale at Philadelphia, that they might have wherewithal to buy caps and ribbons there, and you know that that industry has continued, and is likely to continue and increase to a much greater value, and answer better purposes."—Upon the whole, I was more reconciled to this little piece of luxury, since not only the girls were made happier by having fine caps, but the Philadelphians by the supply of warm mittens.

In our commercial towns upon the sea-coast, fortunes will occasionally be made. Some of those who grow rich will be prudent, live within bounds, and preserve what they have gained for their posterity; others, fond of showing their wealth, will be extravagant, and ruin themselves. Laws cannot prevent this: and perhaps it is not always an evil to the public. A shilling spent idly by a fool, may be picked up by a wiser person, who knows better what to do with it. It is therefore not lost. A vain silly fellow builds

a fine house, furnishes it richly, lives in it expensively, and in a few years ruins himself: but the masons, carpenters, smiths, and other honest tradesmen, have been by his employ, assisted in maintaining and raising their families; the farmer has been paid for his labor, and encouraged, and the estate is now in better hands. In some cases, indeed, certain modes of luxury may be a public evil, in the same manner as it is a private one. If there be a nation, for instance, that exports its beef and linen, to pay for the importation of claret and porter, while a great part of its people live upon potatoes, and wear no shirts, wherein does it differ from the sot, who lets his family starve, and sells his clothes to buy drink? Our American commerce is, I confess, a little in this way. We sell our victuals to the islands for rum and sugar; the substantial necessities of life for superfluities. But we have plenty, and live well nevertheless, though by being soberer, we might be richer.

The vast quantity of forest land we have yet to clear, and put in order for cultivation, will for a long time keep the body of our nation laborious and frugal. Forming an opinion of our people and their manners, by what is seen among the inhabitants of the sea-ports, is judging from an improper sample. The people of the trading towns may be rich and luxurious, while the country possesses all the virtues, that tend to promote happiness and public prosperity.—Those towns are not much regarded by the country; they are hardly considered as an essential part of the states, and the experience of the last war has shown, that their being in the possession of the enemy did not necessarily draw on the subjection of the country, which bravely continued to maintain its freedom and independence notwithstanding.

It has been computed by some political arithmetician, that if every man and woman would work for four hours each day on something useful, that labour would produce sufficient to procure all the necessities and comforts of life, want and misery would be banished out of the world, and the rest of the twenty-four hours might be leisure and pleasure.

What occasions then so much want and misery? It is the employment of men and women in works, that produce neither the necessities nor conveniences of life, who, with those who do nothing, consume necessities raised by the laborious. To explain this.

The first elements of wealth are obtained by labour, from the earth and waters. I have land, and raise corn. With this, if I feed a family that does nothing, my corn will be consumed, and at the end of the year I shall be no richer than I was at the beginning. But if, while I feed them, I employ them, some in spinning, others in making bricks &c. for building, the value of my corn will be arrested and remain with me, and at the end of the year we may all be better clothed and better lodged. And if, instead of employing a man I feed in making bricks, I employ him in fiddling for me, the corn he eats is gone, and no part of his manufacture remains to augment the wealth and convenience of the family: I shall therefore be the poorer for this fiddling man, unless the rest of my family work more, or eat less, to make up the deficiency he occasions.

Look round the world, and see the millions employed in doing nothing, or in something that amounts to nothing, when the necessities and conveniences of life are in question. What is the bulk of commerce, for which we fight and destroy each other, but the toil of millions for superfluities, to the great hazard and loss of many lives, by the constant dangers of the sea? How much labor is spent in building and fitting great ships, to go to China and Arabia for tea and coffee, to the West Indies for sugar, to America for tobacco? These things cannot be called the necessities of life, for our ancestors lived very comfortably without them.

A question may be asked; could all these people now employed in raising, making, or carrying superfluities, be subsisted by raising necessities? I think they might. The world is large, and a great part of it still uncultivated.—Many hundred millions of acres in Asia, Africa, and America, are still in a forest, and a great deal even in Europe.—

On a hundred acres of this forest a man might become a substantial farmer, and a hundred thousand men, employed in clearing each his hundred acres, would hardly brighten a spot big enough to be visible from the moon, unless with Herschel's telescope; so vast are the regions still in wood,

It is, however, some comfort to reflect, that, upon the whole, the quantity of industry and prudence among mankind exceeds the quantity of idleness and folly. Hence the increase of good buildings, farms cultivated, and populous cities filled with wealth, all over Europe, which a few ages since were only to be found on the coasts of the Mediterranean; and this notwithstanding the mad wars continually raging, by which are often destroyed in one year the works of many years peace. So that we may hope the luxury of a few merchants on the coast will not be the ruin of America.

One reflection more, and I will end this long rambling letter. Almost all the parts of our bodies require some expence. The feet demand shoes; the legs stockings; the rest of the body clothing; and the belly a good deal of victuals. Our eyes, though exceedingly useful, ask, when reasonable, only the cheap assistance of spectacles, which could not much impair our finances. But the eyes of other people are the eyes that ruin us. If all but myself were blind, I should want neither fine clothes, fine houses, nor fine furniture.

The Rev. Dr. W. Smith, in his eulogium on Dr. Franklin, delivered before the American philosophical society, gives this account of the following production: "In 1744, a Spanish privateer, having entered the Bay of Delaware, ascended as high as Newcastle, to the great terror of the citizens of Philadelphia. On this occasion, Franklin wrote his first political pamphlet called *Plain Truth*, to exhort his fellow-citizens to the bearing of arms; which laid the foundation of those military associations, which followed, at different times, for the defence of the country."

PLAIN TRUTH ;

Or serious Considerations on the present State of the City of Philadelphia, and Province of Pennsylvania :

BY A TRADESMAN OF PHILADELPHIA.

Capta urbe, nihil fit reliqui victis. Sed, per deos immortales, vos ego apello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vestras, tantæ æstimationis fecistis ; si ista, cujuscumque modi sint, quæ amplexamini, retinere, si voluptatibus vestris otium præbere vultis ; expergismini aliquando, et capessite rempublicam. Non agitur nunc de sociorum injuriis ; *libertas et anima nostra* in dubio est. Dux hostium cum exercitu supra caput est. Vos cupctamini etiam nunc, et dubitatis quid faciatis ? Scilicet, res ipsa aspera est, sed vos non timetis eam. Imo vero maxime ; sed inertia et mollitia animi, alius alium expectantes, cunctamini ; videlicet, diis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rempublicam in maximis periculis servavere *non votis, neque suppliciis mulieribus, auxilia deorum parantur* : vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo, prospere omnia cedunt. Ubi socordiae tete atque ignaviae tradideris, nequicquam deos implores ; irati, infestique sunt.

M. FOR. CAT. IN SALUST.

IT is said, the wise Italians make this proverbial remark on our nation, viz. The English *feel*, but they do not *see*. That is, they are sensible of inconveniences when they are present, but do not take sufficient care to prevent them : their natural courage makes them too little apprehensive of danger, so that they are often surprised by it, unprovided of the proper means of security. When it is too late, they are sensible of their imprudence ; after great fires, they provide buckets and engines : after a pestilence, they think of keeping clean their streets and common sewers : and when a town has been sacked by their enemies, they provide for its defence, &c. This kind of *after-wisdom* is indeed so common with us, as to occasion the vulgar, though very insignificant saying, *When the steed is stolen, you shut the stable door.*

But the more insensible we generally are of public danger and indifferent when warned of it, so much the more freely, openly, and earnestly, ought such as apprehend it to speak their sentiments ; that, if possible, those who seem to sleep may be awakened, to think of some means of avoiding or preventing the mischief, before it be too late.

Believing therefore, that it is my *duty*, I shall honestly speak my mind in the following paper.

War, at this time, rages over a great part of the known world; our newspapers are weekly filled with fresh accounts of the destruction it every where occasions. Pennsylvania, indeed, situate in the centre of the colonies, has hitherto enjoyed profound repose; and though our nation is engaged in a bloody war, with two great and powerful kingdoms, yet, defended, in a great degree, from the French, on the one hand, by the northern provinces, and from the Spaniards, on the other, by the southern, at no small expence to each, our people have, till lately, slept securely in their habitations.

There is no British colony, excepting this, but has made some kind of provision for its defence; many of them have therefore never been attempted by an enemy; and others, that were attacked, have generally defended themselves with success. The length and difficulty of our bay and river have been thought so effectual a security to us, that hitherto no means have been entered into, that might discourage an attempt upon us, or prevent its succeeding.

But whatever security this might have been while, both country and city were poor, and the advantage to be expected scarce worth the hazard of an attempt, it is now doubted, whether we can any longer safely depend upon it. Our wealth, of late years much encreased, is one strong temptation, our defenceless state another, to induce an enemy to attack us; while the acquaintance they have lately gained with our bay and river, by means of the prisoners and flags of truce they have had among us; by spies which they almost every where maintain, and perhaps from traitors among ourselves; with the facility of getting pilots to conduct them; and the known absence of ships of war, during the greatest part of the year, from both Virginia and New York, ever since the war began, render the appearance of success to the enemy far more promising, and therefore highly encrease our danger.

That our enemies may have spies abroad, and some even in these colonies, will not be made much doubt of, when it is considered, that such has been the practice of all nations

in all ages, whenever they were engaged, or intended to engage, in war. Of this we have an early example in the book of Judges (too pertinent to our case, and therefore I must beg leave a little to enlarge upon it) where we are told, *Chap. xviii, v. 2. That the children of Dan sent of their family five men from their coasts to spie out the land, and search it, saying, Go, search the land.* These Danites it seems were at this time not very orthodox in their religion, and their spies met with a certain idolatrous priest of their own persuasion, v. 3, and they said to him, *Who brought thee hither? What makest thou in this place? And what hast thou here?* [Would to God no such priests were to be found among us.] And they said unto him, v. 5.—*Ask counsel of God, that we may know, whether our way which we go shall be prosperous: and the priest said unto them, Go in peace; before the Lord is your way wherein you go.* [Are there no priests among us, think you, that might, in the like case, give an enemy as good encouragement? It is well known, that we have numbers of the same religion with those, who of late encouraged the French to invade our mother country.] *And they came, verse 7, to Laish, and saw the people that were therein, how they dwelt CARELESS, after the manner of the Zidonians, QUIET and SECURE.* They thought themselves secure, no doubt; and as they never had been disturbed, vainly imagined they never should. It is not unlikely, that some might see the danger they were exposed to by living in that careless manner; but that, if these publicly expressed their apprehensions, the rest reproached them as timorous persons, wanting courage or confidence in their gods, who (they might say) had hitherto protected them. But the spies, verse 8, returned, and said to their countrymen, verse 9, *Arise, that we may go up against them; for we have seen the land, and behold it is very good! And are ye still? Be not slothful to go.* Verse 10, *when ye go, ye shall come to a people SECURE:* [that is, a people that apprehend no danger, and therefore have made no provision against it; great encouragement this!] *and to a large land, and a place where there is no want of any thing.*

What could they desire more? Accordingly we find, in the following verses, that *six hundred men only, appointed with weapons of war*, undertook the conquest of this *large land*; knowing that 600 men, armed and disciplined, would be an over-match perhaps for 60,000, unarmed, undisciplined, and off their guard. And when they went against it, the idolatrous priest, verse 17, *with his graven image, and his ephod, and his seraphim, and his molten image*, (plenty of superstitious trinkets] joined with them, and, no doubt, gave them all the intelligence and assistance in his power; his heart, as the text assures us, *being glad*, perhaps for reasons more than one. And now, what was the fate of the poor Laish! The 600 men being arrived, found, as the spies had reported, a people QUIET and SECURE, verse 20, 21. *And they smote them with the edge of the sword, and burnt the city with FIRE; and there was no DELIVERER, because it was far from Zidon.*—Not so far from Zidon, however, as Pennsylvania is from Britain; and yet we are, if possible, more careless than the people of Laish! As the scriptures are given for our reproof, instruction, and warning, may we make a due use of this example, before it be too late!

And is our *country*, any more than our city, altogether free from danger? Perhaps not. We have, it is true, had a long peace with the Indians: but it is a long peace indeed, as well as a long lane, that has no ending. The French know the power and importance of the Six Nations, and spare no artifice, pains or expence to gain them to their interest. By their priests they have converted many to their religion, and these⁷ have openly espoused their cause. The rest appear irresolute what part to take; no persuasions, though enforced with costly presents, having yet been able to engage them generally on our side, though we had numerous forces on their borders, ready to second and support them. What then may be expected, now those forces are, by orders from the crown, to be disbanded, when our boasted expedition is laid aside, through want (as it may

7 The praying Indians.

appear to them) either of strength or courage ; when they see, that the French and their Indians, boldly, and with impunity, ravage the frontiers of New York, and scalp the inhabitants ; when those few Indians, that engaged with us against the French, are left exposed to their resentment : when they consider these things, is there no danger that, through disgust at our usage, joined with fear of the French power, and greater confidence in their promises and protection than in ours, they may be wholly gained over by our enemies, and join in the war against us ? If such should be the case, which God forbid, how soon may the mischief spread to our frontier countries ? And what may we expect to be the consequence, but desertion of plantations, ruin, bloodshed, and confusion !

Perhaps some in the city, towns, and plantations near the river, may say to themselves, “ An Indian war on the frontiers will not affect us ; the enemy will never come near our habitations ; let those concerned take care of themselves.” And others who live in the country, when they are told of the danger the city is in from attempts by sea, may say, “ What is that to us ? The enemy will be satisfied with the plunder of the town, and never think it worth his while to visit our plantations : let the town take care of itself.” These are not mere suppositions, for I have heard some talk in this strange manner. But are these the sentiments of true Pennsylvanians, of fellow-countrymen, or even of men, that have common sense or goodness ? Is not the whole province one body, united by living under the same laws, and enjoying the same privileges ? Are not the people of city and country connected as relations, both by blood and marriage, and in friendships equally dear ? Are they not likewise united in interest, and mutually useful and necessary to each other ? When the feet are wounded, shall the head say, it is not me ; I will not trouble myself to contrive relief ! Or if the head is in danger, shall the hands say, we are not affected, and therefore will lend no assistance ! No. For so would the body be easily destroyed : but when all parts join their endeavors for its security, it is

often preserved. And such should be the union between the country and the town ; and such their mutual endeavors for the safety of the whole. When New England, a distant colony, involved itself in a grievous debt to reduce Cape Breton, we freely gave four thousand pounds for *their* relief. And at another time, remembering that Great Britain, still more distant, groaned under heavy taxes in supporting the war, we threw in our mite to their assistance, by a free gift of three thousand pounds : and shall country and town join in helping strangers (as those comparatively are) and yet refuse to assist each other ?

But whatever different opinions we have of our security in other respects, our TRADE, all seem to agree, is in danger of being ruined in another year. The great success of our enemies, in two different cruizes this last summer in our bay, must give them the greatest encouragement to repeat more frequently their visits, the profit being almost certain, and the risk next to nothing. Will not the first effect of this be, an enhancing of the price of all foreign goods to the tradesman and farmer, who use or consume them ? For the rate of insurance will increase, in proportion to the hazard of importing them ; and in the same proportion will the price of those goods increase. If the price of the tradesman's work, and the farmer's produce, would increase equally with the price of foreign commodities, the damage would not be so great : but the direct contrary must happen. For the same hazard or rate of insurance, that raises the price of what is imported, must be deducted out of, and lower the price of what is exported. Without this addition and deduction, as long as the enemy cruize at our capes, and take those vessels that attempt to *go out*, as well as those that endeavor to *come in*, none can afford to trade, and business must be soon at a stand. And will not the consequences be, a discouragement of many of the vessels that used to come from other places to purchase our produce, and thereby a turning of the trade to ports that can be entered with less danger, and capable of furnishing them with the same commodities, as New York, &c;

a lessening of business to every shopkeeper, together with multitudes of bad debts, the high rate of goods discouraging the buyers, and the low rates of their labor and produce rendering them unable to pay for what they had bought; loss of employment to the tradesman, and bad pay for what little he does; and lastly, loss of many inhabitants, who will retire to other provinces not subject to the like inconveniences; whence a lowering of the value of lands, lots, and houses.

The enemy, no doubt, have been told, that the people of Pennsylvania are Quakers, and against all defence, from a principle of conscience; this, though true of a part, and that a small part only of the inhabitants, is commonly said of the whole; and what may make it look probable to strangers is, that in fact, nothing is done by any part of the people towards their defence. But to refuse defending one's self, or one's country, is so unusual a thing among mankind, that possibly they may not believe it, till by experience, they find they can come higher and higher up our river, seize our vessels, land and plunder our plantations and villages, and retire with their booty unmolested. Will not this confirm the report, and give them the greatest encouragement to strike one bold stroke for the city, and for the whole plunder of the river?

It is said by some, that the expence of a vessel, to guard our trade, would be very heavy, greater than perhaps all the enemy can be supposed to take from us at sea would amount to; and that it would be cheaper for the government to open an insurance office, and pay all losses. But is this right reasoning? I think not; for what the enemy takes is clear loss to us, and gain to him; increasing his riches and strength, as much as it diminishes ours, so making the difference double; whereas the money, paid our own tradesmen for building and fitting out a vessel of defence, remains in the country, and circulates among us; what is paid to the officers and seamen, that navigate her, is also spent ashore, and soon gets into other hands; the farmer receives the money for her provisions, and on the

whole, nothing is clearly lost to the country but her wear and tear, or so much as she sells for at the end of the war less than her first cost. This loss, and a trifling one it is, is all the inconvenience ; but how many and how great are the conveniences and advantages ! and should the enemy, through our supineness and neglect to provide for the defence both of our trade and country, be encouraged to attempt this city, and after plundering us of our goods, either *burn it*, or put it to ransom, how great would that loss be ! besides the confusion, terror, and distress, so many hundreds of families would be involved in !

The thought of this latter circumstance so much affects me, that I cannot forbear expatiating somewhat more upon it. You have, my dear countrymen, and fellow-citizens, riches to tempt a considerable force to unite and attack you, but are under no ties or engagements to unite for your defence. Hence, on the first alarm, *terror* will spread over all ; and as no man can with certainty depend that another will stand by him, beyond doubt very many will seek safety by a speedy flight. Those, that are reputed rich, will flee, through fear of torture, to make them produce more than they are able. The man, that has a wife and children, will find them hanging on his neck, beseeching him with tears to quit the city, and save his life, to guide and protect them in that time of general desolation and ruin. All will run into confusion, amidst cries and lamentations, and the hurry and disorder of departers, carrying away their effects. The few that remain will be unable to resist. *Sacking* the city will be the first, and *burning* it, in all probability, the last act of the enemy. This, I believe, will be the case, if you have timely notice. But what must be your condition, if suddenly surprised, without previous alarm, perhaps in the night ! Confined to your houses, you will have nothing to trust to but the enemy's mercy. Your best fortune will be, to fall under the power of commanders of king's ships, able to control the mariners ; and not into the hands of *licentious privateers*. Who can, without the utmost horror, conceive the miseries of the latter ! when your persons, for-

tunes, wives, and daughters, shall be subject to the wanton and unbridled rage, rapine, and lust, of negroes, mulattoes, and others, the vilest and most abandoned of mankind⁸. A dreadful scene ! which some may represent as exaggerated. I think it my duty to warn you : judge for yourselves.

It is true, with very little notice, the rich may shift for themselves. The means of speedy flight are ready in their hands ; and with some previous care to lodge money and effects in distant and secure places, though they should lose much, yet enough may be left them, and to spare. But most unhappily circumstanced indeed are we, the middling people, the tradesmen, shopkeepers, and farmers of the province and city ! We cannot all fly with our families ; and if we could, how shall we subsist ? No ; we and they, and what little we have gained by hard labor and industry, must bear the brunt : the weight of contributions, extorted by the enemy (as it is of taxes among ourselves) must be surely borne by us. Nor can it be avoided, as we stand at present ; for though we are numerous, we are quite defenceless, having neither forts, arms, union, nor discipline. And though it were true, that our trade might be protected at no great expence, and our country and our city easily defended, if proper measures were but taken ; yet, who shall take these measures ? Who shall pay that expence ? On whom may we fix our eyes with the least expectation, that they will do any thing for our security ? Should we address that wealthy and powerful body of people, who have ever since the war governed our elections, and filled almost every seat in our assembly ; should we intreat them to consider, if not as friends, at least as legislators, that *protection* is as truly due from the government to the people, as *obedience* from the people to the government ; and that if, on account

⁸ By accounts, the ragged crew of the Spanish privateer that plundered Mr. Liston's, and another plantation, a little below Newcastle, was composed of such as these. The *honor* and *humanity* of their officers may be judged of, by the treatment they gave poor captain Brown, whom they took with Martin's ship in returning from their cruize. Because he bravely defended himself and vessel longer than they expected, for which every generous enemy would have esteemed him, did they, after he had struck and submitted, barbarously *stab* and *murder* him, though on his knees begging quarter !

of their religious scruples, they themselves could do no act for our defence, yet they might retire, relinquish their power for a season, quit the helm to freer hands during the present tempest, to hands, chosen by their own interest too, whose prudence and moderation, with regard to them, they might safely confide in ; secure, from their own native strength, of resuming again their present station, whenever it shall please them : should we remind them, that the public money, raised *from all*, belongs *to all* ; that since they have, for their own ease, and to secure themselves in the quiet enjoyment of their religious principles (and may they long enjoy them) expended such large sums to oppose petitions, and engage favorable representations of their conduct, if they themselves could by no means be free to appropriate any part of the public money for our defence ; yet it would be no more than justice, to spare us a reasonable sum for that purpose, which they might easily give to the king's use as heretofore, leaving all the appropriation to others, who would faithfully apply it as we desired : should we tell them, that though the treasury be at present empty, it may soon be filled by the outstanding public debts collected ; or at least credit might be had for such a sum, on a single vote of the assembly : that though *they* themselves may be resigned and easy under this naked, defenceless state of the country, it is far otherwise with a very great part of the people ; with *us*, who can have no confidence that God will protect those, that neglect the use of rational means for their security ; nor have any reason to hope, that our losses, if we should suffer any, may be made by collections in our favor at home. Should we conjure them by all the ties of neighborhood, friendship, justice, and humanity, to consider these things ; and what distraction, misery, and confusion, what desolation and distress, may possibly be the effect of their *unseasonable* predominancy and perseverance ; yet all would be in vain : for they have already been, by great numbers of the people, petitioned in vain. Our late governor did for years solicit, request, and even threaten them in vain. The council have since twice remonstrated

to them in vain. Their religious prepossessions are unchangable, their obstinacy invincible. Is there then the least hope remaining, that from that quarter any thing should arise for our security?

And is our prospect better, if we turn our eyes to the strength of the opposite party, those great and rich men, merchants, and others, who are ever railing at Quakers for doing what their principles seem to require, and what in charity we ought to believe they think their duty, but take no one step themselves for the public safety. They have so much wealth and influence, if they would use it, that they might easily, by their endeavors and example, raise a military spirit among us, make us fond, studious of, and expert in, martial discipline, and effect every thing that is necessary, under God, for our protection. But *envy* seems to have taken possession of their hearts, and to have eaten out and destroyed every generous, noble, public-spirited sentiment. *Rage*, at the disappointment of their little schemes for power, gnaws their souls, and fills them with such cordial hatred to their opponents, that every proposal, by the execution of which *those* may receive benefit as well as themselves, is rejected with indignation. "What," say they, "shall we lay out our money to protect the trade of Quakers? Shall we fight to defend Quakers? No; let the trade perish, and the city burn; let what will happen, we shall never lift a finger to prevent it. Yet the Quakers have *conscience* to plead for their resolution not to fight, which these gentlemen have not. Conscience with you, gentlemen, is on the other side of the question: conscience enjoins it as a *duty* on you (and indeed I think it such on every man) to defend your country, your friends, your aged parents, your wives, and helpless children: and yet you resolve not to perform this duty, but act contrary to your own consciences, because the Quakers act according to theirs. Till of late, I could scarce believe the story of him, who refused to pump in a sinking ship, because one on board, whom he hated, would be saved by it as well as himself. But such, it seems, is the unhappiness of human

nature, that our passions, when violent, often are too hard for the united force of reason, duty, and religion.

Thus unfortunately are we circumstanced at this time, my dear countrymen, and fellow citizens; we, I mean, the middling people; the farmers, shop-keepers, and tradesmen of this city and country. Through the dissensions of our leaders, through mistaken principles of religion, joined with a love of worldly power, on the one hand; through pride, envy, and implacable resentment on the other; our lives, our families, and little fortunes, dear to us as any great man's can be to him, are to remain continually exposed to destruction, from an enterprising, cruel, now well-informed, and by success encouraged, enemy. It seems as if Heaven, justly displeased at our growing wickedness, and determined to punish⁹ this once-favored land, had suffered our chiefs to engage in these foolish and mischievous contentions, for *little posts* and *paltry distinctions*, that our hands might be bound up, our understandings darkened and misled, and every means of our security neglected. It seems as if our greatest men, our *cives nobilissimi*¹ of both parties, had sworn the ruin of the country, and invited the French, our most inveterate enemy to destroy it. Where then shall we seek for succor and protection? The government we are immediately under denies it to us; and if the enemy comes, we are *far from Zidon, and there is no deliverer near*. Our case is dangerously bad; but perhaps there is yet a remedy, if we have but the prudence and the spirit to apply it.

If this new flourishing city, and greatly improving colony is destroyed and ruined, it will not be for want of numbers

⁹ When God determined to punish his chosen people, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who though breakers of his other laws, were scrupulous observers of that one, which required keeping holy the Sabbath-day: he suffered even the strict observation of that command to be their ruin: for Pompey, observing that they then obstinately refused to fight, made a general assault on that day, took the town, and butchered them with as little mercy as he found resistance.

JOSEPHUS.

¹ Conjuravere cives nobilissimi patriam incendere; CALLORUM CENTEM, infestissimam nomini Romano, ad bellum arcessunt.

CAT. IN SALUST.

of inhabitants able to bear arms in its defence. It is computed, that we have at least (exclusive of the Quakers) sixty thousand fighting men, acquainted with fire arms, many of them hunters and marksmen, hardy and bold. All we want is order, discipline, and a few cannon. At present we are like the separate filaments of flax before the thread is formed, without strength, because without connection; but UNION would make us strong, and even formidable, though the *great* should neither help nor join us; though they should even oppose our uniting, from some mean views of their own, yet, if we resolve upon it, and it pleases God to inspire us with the necessary prudence and vigor, it *may* be effected. Great numbers of our people are of British race, and though the fierce fighting animals of those happy islands are said to abate their native fire and intrepidity, when removed to a foreign clime, yet with the people it is not so; our neighbors of New England afford the world a convincing proof, that Britons, though a hundred years transplanted, and to the remotest part of the earth, may yet retain, even to the third and fourth descent, that zeal for the public good, that military prowess, and that undaunted spirit, which has in every age distinguished their nation. What numbers have we likewise of *those brave people*, whose fathers in the last age made so glorious a stand for our religion and liberties, when invaded by a powerful French army, joined by Irish Catholics, under a bigotted popish king? Let the memorable siege of Londonderry, and the signal actions of the Iniskillinners, by which the heart of that prince's schemes was broken, be perpetual testimonies of the courage and conduct of those noble warriors! Nor are there wanting amongst us, thousands of *that warlike* nation, whose sons have ever since the time of Cæsar maintained the character he gave their fathers, of joining the most *obstinate courage* to all the other military virtues: I mean the brave and steady Germans. Numbers of whom have actually borne arms in the service of their respective princes; and if they fought well for their tyrants and oppressors, would they refuse to unite

with us in defence of their newly acquired and most precious liberty and property? Were this union formed, were we once united, thoroughly armed and disciplined, was every thing in our power done for our security, as far as human means and foresight could provide, we might then, with more propriety, humbly ask the assistance of heaven, and a blessing on our lawful endeavors. The very fame of our strength and readiness would be a means of discouraging our enemies; for it is a wise and true saying, that *one sword often keeps another in the scabbard*. The way to secure peace is to be prepared for war. They, that are on their guard, and appear ready to receive their adversaries, are in much less danger of being attacked, than the supine, secure, and negligent. We have yet a winter before us, which may afford a good and almost sufficient opportunity for this, if we seize and improve it with a becoming vigor. And if the hints contained in this paper are so happy as to meet with a suitable disposition of mind in his countrymen, and fellow-citizens, the writer of it will, in a few days, lay before them a form of ASSOCIATION for the purposes herein mentioned, together with a practicable scheme for raising the money necessary for the defence of our trade, city, and country, without laying a burthen on any man.

May the God of wisdom, strength, and power, the Lord of the armies of Israel, inspire us with prudence in this time of danger, take away from us all the seeds of contention and division, and unite the hearts and counsels of all of us, of whatever sect or nation, in one bond of peace, brotherly love, and generous public spirit; may he give us strength and resolution to amend our lives, and remove from among us every thing that is displeasing to him; afford us his most gracious protection, confound the designs of our enemies, and give peace in all our borders, is the sincere prayer of

A TRADESMAN, OF PHILADELPHIA.

POOR RICHARD'S ALMANAC.

The Way to Wealth, as clearly shown in the Preface of an old Pennsylvania Almanac, intituled, Poor Richard Improved².

COURTEOUS READER,

I HAVE heard, that nothing gives an author so great pleasure, as to find his works respectfully quoted by others. Judge, then, how much I must have been gratified by an incident I am going to relate to you. I stopped my horse lately, where a great number of people were collected, at an auction of merchants goods. The hour of the sale not being come, they were conversing on the badness of the times; and one of the company called to a plain clean old man, with white locks, 'Pray, Father Abraham, what think you of the times? Will not these heavy taxes quite ruin the country? How shall we ever be able to pay them? What would you advise us to?'—Father Abraham stood up, and replied, 'If you would have my advice, I will give it to you in short, "for a word to the wise is enough," as Poor Richard says.' They joined in desiring him to speak his mind, and gathering round him, he proceeded as follows:

'Friends,' says he, 'the taxes are, indeed, very heavy, and, if those laid on by the government were the only ones we had to pay, we might more easily discharge them; but we have many others, and much more grievous to some of us. We are taxed twice as much by our idleness, three times as much by our pride, and four times as much by our folly; and from these taxes the commissioners cannot ease or deliver us, by allowing an abatement. However, let us hearken to good advice, and something may be done for us; "God helps them that help themselves," as poor Richard says.

² Dr Franklin for many years published the Pennsylvania Almanac, called *Poor Richard* [Saunders], and furnished it with various sentences and proverbs, which had principal relation to the topics of "industry, attention to one's own business, and frugality." The whole or chief of these sentences and proverbs he at last collected and digested in the above general preface, which were read with much avidity and profit; and perhaps tended more to the formation of a national character in America, than any other cause.

‘ I. It would be thought a hard government that should tax its people one tenth part of their time, to be employed in its service : but idleness taxes many of us much more ; sloth, by bringing on diseases, absolutely shortens life. “ Sloth, like rust, consumes faster than labor wears, while the used key is always bright,” as poor Richard says. “ But dost thou love life, then do not squander time, for that is the stuff life is made of,” as poor Richard says. How much more than is necessary do we spend in sleep ! forgetting, that “ the sleeping fox catches no poultry, and that there will be sleeping enough in the grave,” as poor Richard says.

“ If time be of all things the most precious, wasting time must be,” as poor Richard says, “ the greatest prodigality ;” since, as he elsewhere tells us, “ lost time is never found again ; and what we call time enough always proves little enough :” let us then up and be doing, and doing to the purpose ; so by diligence shall we do more, with less perplexity. “ Sloth makes all things difficult, but industry all easy ; and he that riseth late, must trot all day, and shall scarce overtake his business at night ; while laziness travels so slowly, that poverty soon overtakes him. Drive thy business, let not that drive thee ; and early to bed, and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise,” as poor Richard says.

‘ So what signifies wishing and hoping for better times ? We may make these times better, if we bestir ourselves. “ Industry need not wish, and he that lives upon hope will die fasting. There are no gains without pains ; then help hands, for I have no lands,” or, if I have, they are smartly taxed. “ He, that hath a trade, hath an estate ; and, he that hath a calling, hath an office of profit and honor,” as poor Richard says ; but then the trade must be worked at, and the calling well followed, or neither the estate nor the office will enable us to pay our taxes. If we are industrious, we shall never starve ; for, “ at the working man’s house, hunger looks in, but dares not enter.” Nor will the bailiff or the constable enter, for “ industry pays debts, while despair increaseth them.” What though you have

found no treasure, nor has any rich relation left you a legacy, "diligence is the mother of good luck, and God gives all things to industry. Then plow deep, while sluggards sleep, and you shall have corn to sell and to keep." Work while it is called to-day, for you know not how much you may be hindered to-morrow. "One to-day is worth two to-morrows," as poor Richard says; and farther, "never leave that till to-morrow, which you can do to-day." If you were a servant, would you not be ashamed that a good master should catch you idle? Are you then your own master? Be ashamed to catch yourself idle, when there is so much to be done for yourself, your family, your country, and your king. Handle your tools without mittens; remember, that "the cat in gloves catches no mice," as poor Richard says. It is true, there is much to be done, and perhaps you are weak-handed; but stick to it steadily, and you will see great effects, for "constant dropping wears away stones; and by diligence and patience the mouse ate in two the cable; and little strokes fell great oaks."

"Methinks I hear some of you say, "must a man afford himself no leisure?" I will tell thee, my friend, what poor Richard says; "employ thy time well, if thou meanest to gain leisure; and since thou are not sure of a minute, throw not away an hour." Leisure is time for doing something useful; this leisure the diligent man will obtain, but the lazy man never; for "a life of leisure and a life of laziness are two things. Many, without labor, would live by their wits only, but they break for want of stock;" whereas industry gives comfort, and plenty, and respect. "Fly pleasures, and they will follow you. The diligent spinner has a large shift; and now I have a sheep and a cow, every one bids me good-morrow."

"II. But with our industry we must likewise be steady, settled, and careful, and oversee our own affairs with our own eyes, and not trust too much to others; for, as poor Richard says,

"I never saw an oft-removed tree,
Nor yet an oft-removed family,
That thrive so well as those that settled be."

And again, "three removes is as bad as a fire;" and again "keep thy shop, and thy shop will keep thee;" and again, "if you would have your business done, go, if not, send." And again,

"He that by the plough would thrive,
Himself must either hold or drive."

And again, "the eye of a master will do more work than both his hands;" and again, "want of care does us more damage than want of knowledge;" and again, "not to oversee workmen, is to leave them your purse open." Trusting too much to other's care is the ruin of many; for, "in the affairs of this world, men are saved, not by faith, but by the want of it;" but a man's own care is profitable; for, "if you would have a faithful servant, and one that you like, serve yourself. A little neglect may breed great mischief; for want of a nail the shoe was lost, and for want of a shoe the horse was lost, and for want of a horse the rider was lost," being overtaken and slain by the enemy; all for want of a little care about a horse-shoe nail.

'III. So much for industry, my friends, and attention to one's own business; but to these we must add frugality, if we would make our industry more certainly successful. A man may, if he knows not how to save as he gets, "keep his nose all his life to the grindstone, and die not worth a groat at last. A fat kitchen makes a lean will;" and

"Many estates are spent in the getting,
Since women for tea forsook spinning and knitting,
And men for punch forsook hewing and splitting."

"If you would be wealthy, think of saving, as well as of getting. The Indies have not made Spain rich, because her outgoes are greater than her incomes."

'Away then, with your expensive follies, and you will not then have so much cause to complain of hard times, heavy taxes, and chargable families; for

"Women and wine, game and deceit,
Make the wealth small, and the want great."

And farther, "what maintains one vice, would bring up two children." You may think, perhaps, that a little tea, or a

little punch now and then, diet a little more costly, clothes a little finer, and a little entertainment now and then, can be no great matter; but remember, "many a little makes a mickle." Beware of little expences; "a small leak will sink a great ship," as poor Richard says; and again, "who dainties love, shall beggars prove;" and moreover, "fools make feasts, and wise men eat them."

'Here you are all got together to this sale of fineries and nick-nacks. You call them *goods*, but if you do not take care, they will prove *evils* to some of you. You expect they will be sold cheap, and perhaps they may, for less than they cost; but, if you have no occasion for them, they must be dear to you. Remember what poor Richard says, "buy what thou hast no need of, and ere long thou shalt sell thy necessaries." And again, "at a great pennyworth pause a while." He means, that perhaps the cheapness is apparent only, and not real; or the bargain, by straitening thee in thy business, may do thee more harm than good. For in another place he says, "many have been ruined by buying good pennyworths." Again, "it is foolish to lay out money in a purchase of repentance;" and yet this folly is practised every day at auctions, for want of minding the almanac. Many a one, for the sake of finery on the back, have gone with a hungry belly, and half starved their families; "silks and satins, scarlet and velvets, put out the kitchen fire," as poor Richard says. These are not the necessaries of life, they can scarcely be called the conveniencies; and yet, only because they look pretty, how many want to have them? By these and other extravagancies, the genteel are reduced to poverty, and forced to borrow of those whom they formerly despised, but who, through industry and frugality, have maintained their standing; in which case it appears plainly, that "a ploughman on his legs is higher than a gentleman on his knees," as poor Richard says. Perhaps they have had a small estate left them, which they knew not the getting of; they think "it is day, and it will never be night;" that a little to be spent out of so much is not worth minding; but always taking

out of the meal-tub, and never putting in soon comes to the bottom," as poor Richard says; and then, "when the well is dry, they know the worth of water." But this they might have known before, if they had taken his advice: "if you would know the value of money go and try to borrow some; for he that goes a borrowing goes a sorrowing," as poor Richard says; and indeed so does he that lends to such people, when he goes to get it again. Poor Dick farther advises, and says,

"Fond pride of dress is sure a curse,
Ere fancy you consult, consult your purse."

And again, "pride is as loud a beggar as want, and a great deal more saucy." When you have bought one fine thing, you must buy ten more, that your appearance may be all of a piece; but poor Dick says, "it is easier to suppress the first desire than to satisfy all that follow it:" and it is as truly folly for the poor to ape the rich, as for the frog to swell in order to equal the ox.

"Vessels large may venture more,
But little boats should keep near shore."

It is, however, a folly soon punished; for, as poor Richard says, "pride that dines on vanity, sups on contempt; pride breakfasted with plenty, dined with poverty, and supped with infamy." And, after all, of what use is this pride of appearance, for which so much is risked, so much is suffered? It cannot promote health, nor ease pain; it makes no increase of merit in the person; it creates envy, it hastens misfortune.

'But what madness must it be to *run in debt* for these superfluities! We are offered by the terms of this sale six months credit; and that perhaps has induced some of us to attend it, because we cannot spare the ready money, and hope now to be fine without it. But ah! think what you do when you run in debt; you give to another power over your liberty. If you cannot pay at the time, you will be ashamed to see your creditor, you will be in fear when

you speak to him, when you will make poor pitiful sneaking excuses, and by degrees come to loose your varacity, and sink into base, downright lying; for, "the second vice is lying; the *first* is running in debt," as poor Richard says; and again to the same purpose, "lying rides upon debt's back;" whereas a free-born Englishman ought not to be ashamed nor afraid to see or speak to any man living. But poverty often deprives a man of all spirit and virtue. "It is hard for an empty bag to stand upright. What would you think of that prince, or of that government, who should issue an edict forbidding you to dress like a gentleman or gentlewoman, on pain of imprisonment or servitude? Would you not say, that you were free, have a right to dress as you please, and that such an edict would be a breach of your privileges, and such a government tyrannical? And yet you are about to put yourself under that tyranny, when you run in debt for such dress! your creditor has authority, at his pleasure, to deprive you of your liberty, by confining you in gaol for life, or by selling you for a servant, if you should not be able to pay him. When you have got your bargain, you may, perhaps, think little of payment; but, as poor Richard says, "creditors have better memories than debtors; creditors are a superstitious sect, great observers of set-days and times." The day comes round before you are aware, and the demand is made before you are prepared to satisfy it; or, if you bear your debt in mind, the term, which at first seemed so long, will as it lessens, appear extremely short; time will seem to have added wings to his heels as well as his shoulders. "Those have a short lent, who owe money to be paid at Easter." At present, perhaps, you may think yourselves in thriving circumstances, and that you can bear a little extravagance without injury; but

"For age and want save while you may,
No morning sun lasts a whole day."

Gain may be temporary and uncertain, but ever, while you live, expence is constant and certain; and, "it is easier to build two chimneys than to keep one in fuel," as poor

Richard says: so, "rather go to bed supperless than rise in debt."

"Get what you can, and what you get hold,
'Tis the stone that will turn all your lead into gold."

And when you have got the philosopher's stone, sure you will no longer complain of bad times, or the difficulty of paying taxes.

' IV. This doctrine, my friends, is reason and wisdom: but, after all, do not depend too much upon your own industry, and frugality, and prudence, though excellent things; for they may all be blasted, without the blessing of heaven; and therefore ask that blessing humbly, and be not uncharitable to those that at present seem to want it, but comfort and help them. Remember Job suffered, and was afterwards prosperous.

' And now, to conclude, "experience keeps a dear school, but fools will learn in no other," as poor Richard says, and scarce in that; for, it is true, "we may give advice, but we cannot give conduct:" however, remember this, "they that will not be counselled cannot be helped;" and farther, that "if you will not hear reason she will surely rap your knuckles," as poor Richard says.'

Thus the old gentleman ended his harangue. The people heard it, and approved the doctrine; and immediately practised the contrary, just as if it had been a common sermon, for the auction opened and they began to buy extravagantly.—I found the good man had thoroughly studied my almanacs, and digested all I had dropt on those topics during the course of twenty-five years. The frequent mention he made of me must have tired any one else; but my vanity was wonderfully delighted with it, though I was conscious, that not a tenth part of the wisdom was my own, which he ascribed to me, but rather the gleanings that I had made of the sense of all ages and nations. However, I resolved to be the better for the echo of it; and, though I had at first determined to buy stuff for a new coat, I went

away, resolved to wear my old one a little longer. Reader, if thou wilt do the same, thy profit will be as great as mine

I am, as ever,

Thine to serve thee,

RICHARD SAUNDERS.

ADVICE TO A YOUNG TRADESMAN.

Written Anno 1748.

TO MY FRIEND A. B.

As you have desired it of me, I write the following hints, which have been of service to me, and may, if observed, be so to you.

REMEMBER, that *time* is money. He, that can earn ten shillings a day by his labor, and goes abroad, or sits idle one half of that day, though he spends but sixpence during his diversion or idleness, ought not to reckon *that* the only expence; he has really spent, or rather thrown away, five shillings besides.

Remember, that *credit* is money. If a man lets his money lie in my hands after it is due, he gives me the interest, or so much as I can make of it, during that time. This amounts to a considerable sum where a man has good and large credit, and makes good use of it.

Remember, that money is of a prolific generating nature. Money can beget money, and its offspring can beget more, and so on. Five shillings turned is six, turned again it is seven and three-pence, and so on till it becomes an hundred pounds. The more there is of it, the more it produces every turning, so that the profits rise quicker and quicker. He that kills a breeding sow destroys all her offspring to the thousandth generation. He that murders a crown destroys all that it might have produced, even scores of pounds.

Remember, that six pounds a year is but a groat a day. For this little sum (which may be daily wasted either in time or expence unperceived) a man of credit may, on his own security, have the constant possession and use of an

hundred pounds. So much in stock, briskly turned by an industrious man, produces great advantage.

Remember this saying, "the good paymaster is lord of another man's purse." He that is known to pay punctually and exactly to the time he promises may at any time, and on any occasion, raise all the money his friends can spare. This is sometimes of great use. After industry and frugality, nothing contributes more to the raising of a young man in the world than punctuality and justice in all his dealings: therefore, never keep borrowed money an hour beyond the time you promised, lest a disappointment shut up your friend's purse for ever.

The most trifling actions that affect a man's credit are to be regarded. The sound of your hammer at five in the morning, or nine at night, heard by a creditor, makes him easy six months longer: but if he sees you at a billiard-table, or hears your voice at a tavern, when you should be at work, he sends for his money the next day; demands it before he can receive it in a lump.

It shows, besides, that you are mindful of what you owe; it makes you appear a careful as well as an honest man, and that still increases your credit.

Beware of thinking all your own that you possess, and of living accordingly. It is a mistake that many people who have credit fall into. To prevent this, keep an exact account for some time, both of your expences and your income. If you take the pains at first to mention particulars, it will have this good effect: you will discover how wonderfully small trifling expences mount up to large sums, and will discern what might have been, and may for the future be saved, without occasioning any great inconvenience.

In short, the way to wealth, if you desire it, is as plain as the way to market. It depends chiefly on two words, *industry* and *frugality*; that is, waste neither *time* nor *money*, but make the best use of both. Without industry and frugality nothing will do, and with them every thing. He, that gets all he can honestly, and saves all he gets (ne-

cessary expences excepted), will certainly become *rich*—if that Being who governs the world, to whom all should look for a blessing on their honest endeavors, doth not, in his wise providence, otherwise determine.

NECESSARY HINTS TO THOSE THAT WOULD BE RICH.

Written Anno 1736.

THE use of money is all the advantage there is in having money.

For six pounds a year you may have the use of one hundred pounds, provided you are a man of known prudence and honesty.

He, that spends a groat a day idly, spends idly above six pounds a year, which is the price for the use of one hundred pounds.

He, that wastes idly a groat's worth of his time per day, one day with another, wastes the privilege of using one hundred pounds each day.

He, that idly loses five shillings worth of time, loses five shillings, and might as prudently throw five shillings into the sea.

He, that loses five shillings, not only loses that sum, but all the advantage that might be made by turning it in dealing, which, by the time that a young man becomes old, will amount to a considerable sum of money.

Again: he, that sells upon credit, asks a price for what he sells equivalent to the principal and interest of his money for the time he is to be kept out of it; therefore, he, that buys upon credit, pays interest for what he buys, and he, that pays ready money, might let that money out to use: so that he, that possesses any thing he has bought, pays interest for the use of it.

Yet, in buying goods, it is best to pay ready money, because he, that sells upon credit, expects to lose five per cent. by bad debts; therefore he charges, on all he sells upon credit, an advance, that shall make up that deficiency.

Those, who pay for what they buy upon credit, pay their share of this advance.

He, that pays ready money, escapes, or may escape, that charge.

A penny sav'd is two-pence clear,

A pin a day's a groat a year.

The way to make Money Plenty in every Man's Pocket.

AT this time, when the general complaint is, that "money is scarce," it will be an act of kindness to inform the moneyless how they may reinforce their pockets. I will acquaint them with the true secret of money-catching, the certain way to fill empty purses, and how to keep them always full. Two simple rules, well observed, will do the business.

First, let honesty and industry be thy constant companions; and

Secondly, spend one penny less than thy clear gains.

Then shall thy hide-bound pocket soon begin to thrive, and will never again cry with the empty belly-ache: neither will creditors insult thee, nor want oppress, nor hunger bite, nor nakedness freeze thee. The whole hemisphere will shine brighter, and pleasure spring up in every corner of thy heart. Now, therefore, embrace these rules and be happy. Banish the bleak winds of sorrow from thy mind, and live independent. Then shalt thou be a man, and not hide thy face at the approach of the rich, nor suffer the pain of feeling little when the sons of fortune walk at thy right hand: for independency, whether with little or much, is good fortune, and placeth thee on even ground with the proudest of the golden fleece. Oh, then, be wise, and let industry walk with thee in the morning, and attend thee until thou reachest the evening hour for rest. Let honesty be as the breath of thy soul, and never forget to have a penny when all thy expences are enumerated and paid: then shalt thou reach the point of happiness, and independence shall

be thy shield and buckler, thy helmet and crown ; then shall thy soul walk upright, nor stoop to the silken wretch because he hath riches, nor pocket an abuse because the hand which offers it wears a ring set with diamonds.

Plan for improving the Condition of the Free Blacks.

THE business relative to free blacks shall be transacted by a committee of twenty-four persons, annually elected by ballot, at the meeting of this society, in the month called April ; and in order to perform the different services with expedition, regularity, and energy, this committee shall resolve itself into the following sub-committees, viz :

I

A committee of inspection, shall superintend the morals, general conduct, and ordinary situation of the free negroes, and afford them advice and instruction, protection from wrongs, and other friendly offices.

II

A committee of guardians, who shall place out children and young people with suitable persons, that they may (during a moderate time of apprenticeship, or servitude) learn some trade or other business of subsistence. The committee may effect this partly by a persuasive influence on parents and the persons concerned ; and partly by co-operating with the laws, which are, or may be enacted for this, and similar purposes : in forming contracts on these occasions, the committee shall secure to the society, as far as may be practicable, the right of guardianship over the persons so bound.

III.

A committee of education, who shall superintend the school-instruction of the children and youth of the free blacks ; they may either influence them to attend regularly the schools, already established in this city, or form others

with this view ; they shall, in either case, provide, that the pupils may receive such learning, as is necessary for their future situation in life ; and especially a deep impression of the most important, and generally acknowledged moral and religious principles. They shall also procure and preserve a regular record of the marriages, births, and manumissions of all free blacks.

IV.

A committee of employ, who shall endeavor to procure constant employment for those free negroes who are able to work : as the want of this would occasion poverty, idleness, and many vicious habits. This committee will, by sedulous enquiry, be enabled to find common labor for a great number ; they will also provide, that such, as indicate proper talents, may learn various trades, which may be done by prevailing upon them to bind themselves for such a term of years, as shall compensate their masters for the expence and trouble of instruction and maintenance. The committee may attempt the institution of some useful and simple manufactures, which require but little skill, and also may assist, in commencing business, such as appear to be qualified for it.

Whenever the committee of inspection shall find persons of any particular description requiring attention, they shall immediately direct them to the committee, of whose care they are the proper objects.

In matters of a mixed nature, the committees shall confer, and, if necessary, act in concert. Affairs of great importance shall be referred to the whole committee.

The expence, incurred by the prosecution of this plan, shall be defrayed by a fund, to be formed by donations, or subscriptions, for these particular purposes, and to be kept separate from the other funds of this society.

The committee shall make a report of their proceedings, and of the state of their stock, to the society, at their quarterly meetings, in the months called April and October.

Philadelphia, 26th October, 1789.

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO'S CATO MAJOR,

OR A DISCOURSE ON OLD AGE.

Addressed to Titus Pomponius Atticus. With explanatory notes.

BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, L. L. D.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS translation of *Cicero's* tract *De Senectute*, was made several years since, partly for the translator's own amusement, but principally for the entertainment of a neighbour then in his grand climacteric; and the notes were added solely on that gentleman's account, who was not well acquainted with the *Roman* history and language. Copies in mss. having been obtained by many, their recommendation and approbation of it, induced the original publication; as they thought it to be in itself at least equal to any translation of the same piece extant in the *English* language, besides the advantage it has received of so many notes, which at the same time clear up the text, and are highly instructive and entertaining.

In the *Philadelphia* edition the introduction to the reader closes with, "I shall add to these few lines my hearty wish, that this first translation of a *Classic* in this *Western World*, may be followed with many others, and be a happy omen, that *Philadelphia* shall become the seat of the *American* muses.

B. FRANKLIN.

Philadelphia.

This Essay was first translated and published in *Philadelphia*, when Dr. Franklin carried on the printing business in this city; and exhibits strong marks of that character which distinguished his own subsequent life—that strict public virtue, that economy and frugality united with temperance,—that love of utility and wisdom, that thirst for knowledge and invincible integrity, which is drawn with so many charms by *Cicero*, were realized by the *American* sage.—An edition of this essay was published in *London*, in 1778, with some alterations; this edition is published from the *London* edition, and from the copy preserved in Dr. Franklin's library.

The notes are subjoined as an appendix, with which the numerical references correspond.

TO TITUS POMPONIUS ATTICUS,¹

SAY, Titus, if some sovereign balm I find
To sooth your cares, and calm your troubled mind,
Sha'n't I deserve a fee?

For I may address you, Atticus, in the same lines, in which
the ² poet,

In heart as great, as in misfortunes poor,

applied to ³ Flaminius: though I am fully assured, you are
far from being in his condition, disturb'd with thoughts,

That wrung his soul the live-long nights and days.

For I well know the evenness and just composure of yours, and that you took not only your name from Athens, but also brought home with you those nobler improvements, the most consummate prudence and humanity. And yet, to be free with you, I cannot but think you are sometimes touched with the same pains at heart, that, I assure you, deeply affect me. ⁴ But these are matters of a more important weight, that require arguments from a deeper fund to support us under them; which may hereafter be applied to them. The subject I have now chose to write on, is OLD AGE; which, as it is advancing on us both, and in a little time must unavoidably seize us, I would look out, and endeavor to find the best and surest means, to make the burthen of it sit as easy on us as possible. Though, for your part, I am well assured, that as you bear all accidents and events with the greatest firmness and moderation; so you will equally dispense with all the inconveniences that can attend this state. But as I resolved to write on the subject, you (Atticus) of all men appeared to me the most worthy and proper to direct it to; for being made yours, we may in common apply it to our use together. ⁵ And as to my own part in it, I must own, the thoughts that flowed on me from the subject, in composing it, proved so entertaining and delightful to me, while about it, that they have not only divested the prospect of old age, now before us, of every thing shocking or frightful, but they have rendered my expectations of it even agreeable and comfortable. Which leads me to say, we can never sufficiently admire the ex-

cellency of philosophy ; to whose dictates whoever submits, he will never find himself at a loss in any stage or condition of life, to render it not only supportable, but easy. But on other philosophical subjects I have already wrote several tracts, and shall still continue to write. This on old age (as I have said) comes to you. I choose for my speaker in it (not ⁶ Tithonus, as Aristo of Chio laid his ; for a fabulous person would take off from the weight of it ; but) old ⁷ Marcus Cato ; that the respect paid to his name and character, may give the greater force and authority to what is said. At this house I suppose ⁸ Scipio and Lælius to be met, expressing their wonder to the old man, how with such ease and chearfulness he could support the weight of his years : to which he fully answers them. And if his language appear somewhat refined here, above what we meet with in his own writings, I desire it may be attributed to his learning Greek, and reading their authors ; on which, 'tis well known, he spent much time and pains in his latter days. In this discourse, however, you have my own sentiments on the subject, which I give you as follows ; and thus they begin :

SCIPIO, LÆLIUS, AND CATO.

SCIPIO.

Our friend Lælius, and myself, Cato, greatly admiring your wisdom and vast compass of knowlege in general, have been particularly wondering to see how very easily and chearfully you bear your age ; for we can't perceive it gives you any manner of trouble ; while we have observed others complaining of theirs, as if the burthen were insupportable.

CATO.

Indeed, my friends, you place your wonder on a matter far below deserving it, a business in which there is little or no difficulty at all ; provided proper measures be taken in it. For know this, that those who have no aid or support within themselves, to render their lives easy, will find every state irksome : while such as are convinced, they

must owe their happiness to themselves, and that if they cannot find it in their own breast, they will never meet with it from abroad ; will never consider any thing as an evil, that is but a necessary effect of the established order of nature ; which old age most undoubtedly is. 'Tis certainly strange, that while all men hope they may live to attain it, any should find fault with it, when it comes to their share. Yet such is the levity, folly, and perverseness of mankind, that we see there is nothing more common. But, oh, they say, it has crept on us too fast, and overtaken us sooner than we thought or expected. In the first place, pray, who put them on thinking wrong? How can they say, old age creeps faster on manhood, than manhood succeedeth youth and childhood? Or how would it sit lighter at the age of eight hundred years, if that were the term of it, than at eighty? For the long duration of the preceding age, when once 'tis past, abates nothing from the effects of old age, when come ; nor affords any relief against the follies and weakness of such as sink under it. Wherefore, if you have, as you say, admired my wisdom, (which I wish were equal to your opinion of it, and that I truly merited the name I bear) I know nothing it consists in more effectually than this, that I follow nature, my most excellent guide, as my God, and submit to his power in all things ; who, if through his conduct, all the preceding parts of life have been well performed, it is not probable, that he will suffer the last act, as 'tis common with bad poets, to wind up ill. But it was absolutely necessary, that some term, some period, should be set ; and that, as it is with the fruits of trees, and of the earth, seasons should be allowed for their springing, growing, ripening, and at last to drop. This wise men will submit to, and cheerfully bear : nor could any thing else be meant by the stories told of the giants waring against the gods, than men's rebellion against nature and its laws.

LAELIUS.

But, Cato, you would highly oblige us both (for I may venture to speak for Scipio as well as myself, since we both

hope, or doubtless wish at least, to live to be old in our turn) if you would be pleased to instruct us before-hand, how, and by what methods, we may avoid the inconveniences that generally attend old age, so as to render it the more easy to us, when we reach it.

CATO.

With all my heart, Lælius, in case you both desire it.

SCIPIO.

We both earnestly desire it, Cato, if not too troublesome ; for as you are now well advanced towards the end of a long journey, which we probably are to travel after you, we would gladly know of you, how you find it, in the stage you are arrived at.

CATO.

Well, I shall do my best to satisfy you. I have indeed been divers times in company with other old men, my equals, as you know the proverb, *Birds of a feather will flock together*; when they have been loud in their complaints of the inconveniences of old age ; particularly Caius Salinator and Spurius Albinus, men of consular dignity ; who used heavily to lament, that they had outlived all the enjoyments in life, for which it was worth the living ; and that they found themselves slighted and forsaken by those who had formerly followed them, and had treated them with the highest respect. But to me such men appear to lay their charge entirely wrong ; for if what they complained of, were owing only to their years, the case must be the same with me, and all others of the like age : yet I have known several who have lived to be very old, without complaining at all ; for they appeared not only easy, but pleased at their being delivered from the tyranny of their former youthful passions ; and far from finding themselves slighted, were still honored and revered by those about them. But the true ground of such complaints lies wholly in the manners of the men : for such as take care to be neither peevish, humorsome, nor passionate in old age, will find it tolerable enough ; but a perverse temper, a fretful, or an

inhumane disposition, will, where ever they prevail, render any state of life whatsoever unhappy.

LÆLIUS.

That is very true, Cato, but may not some allege, it is your easy circumstances in life, with your power and dignity, that produce this happy effect, and render your old age in particular so easy; but these, you know, are articles that fall but to very few people's share.

CATO.

I confess, Lælius, there may be something in what you say: but the point lies not altogether there: for, as 'tis related of Themistocles, that a certain ¹⁰ Seriphian having on some difference told him, that if he was great, it was owing to the reputation of his country, and not to himself: 'Tis true, indeed, replied Themistocles: if I had been born in Seriphos, I should never have been great, nor would you, if you had been born an Athenian: so, much the same may be said of old age; for, 'tis certain, to one oppressed with poverty, however otherwise qualified, old age can never prove easy: nor to a weak imprudent person, however rich, can it be otherwise than troublesome. But the best armor of old age, Scipio and Lælius, is a well-spent life preceding it; a life employed in the pursuit of useful knowledge, in honorable actions, and the practice of virtue: in which he who labors to improve himself from his youth, will in age reap the happiest fruits of them; not only because these never leave a man, not even in the extremest old age; but because a conscience bearing witness that our life was well spent, together with the remembrance of past good actions, yields an unspeakable comfort to the soul.

When I was a youth, I took a strong affection for ¹¹Quintus Maximus, who recovered Tarentum, though then well advanced in years, as if he had been my equal: for, there was in that great man, a solid gravity, tempered with an engaging sweetness; which in his old age did not at all alter or abate. Yet he was not very old, though somewhat stricken in years, when I first applied myself to him; for he was ¹²the

first time consul but the year after I was born, and in his fourth consulate I was in the service, though very ¹³ young, at Capua; the fifth year after this I went questor to Tarentum, then I was made *Ædile*, and ¹⁴ four years after, prætor, when Tuditanus and Cethegus were consuls, and when Maximus, being then very old, ¹⁵ spoke for the ¹⁶ Cincian law against presents and fees. He was also far in years when, continuing in arms as if he had been in his bloom, he commanded the army against Annibal; and by his patience and declining close battle, broke that general's measures, though then in his heat of youth triumphing on his vast successes. Which our friend Ennius justly expresses in these lines :

One man our state retriev'd by wise delays ;
 For he of blame regardless as of praise,
 His country's safety only had in view :
 Wherefore his fame still more illustrious grew.

But how admirable was his vigilance, his skill and contrivance in the recovery of ¹⁷ Tarentum ? Upon which I remember, Salinator, who, having lost the town, had fled into the castle, telling Fabius boastingly in my hearing, that if it had not been for him, he would not have gained Tarentum : 'Tis very true, replies Fabius, smiling, for if you had not lost it, I should not have recovered it. Nor did he excel in arms more than in civil affairs ; for when consul the second time, his colleague Spurius Servilius refusing to concern himself, he ¹⁸ resolutely opposed Caius Flaminius, the tribune of the people, in his attempt to divide amongst the plebeians the lands taken from the Piceni and Gauls. And though he was himself ¹⁹ Augur, he freely declared, that the best auspices were always to act for the good of the state, and the worst to act against it. Many were the excellencies I observed in that great man ; but none with more wonder than his behavior on the death of his son Marcus, a person of very great merit, who had also been consul. I have by me the funeral oration he composed and delivered himself at his ²⁰ funeral pile ; which as often as

I look on, I can scarce think even the greatest of the philosophers worthy to be compared to him. Nor was he great in public life only ; for he excelled yet more in private, and within his own walls : how noble were his discourses there ! how instructive his precepts ! What a vast knowledge of antiquity was he possessed of ! How skilled in the laws, and in augury ! For a Roman, he was very learned ; and he had treasured up in his memory, not only all the wars of Rome, but those of other nations. And I was on all occasions no less fond of hearing him speak, than as if I had been assured of what I then feared, and what has since accordingly proved too true ; that when he was once taken from us, I should never find another man to improve by.

But you may wonder, perhaps, that on this occasion I should run so largely into the praises of Fabius : 'tis on this view only, that from this account of him, you may be convinced, that it would be almost impious to imagine, the old age of a person, who thus acted and behaved to the last, can be esteemed unhappy. 'Tis true, that all men can't be Scipios or Fabiuses, to have the pleasure of reflecting on such great actions in their past life, as their taking of towns, or their victories by land or sea, and their triumphs for them. Nor is this at all necessary to man's happiness : for a calm contemplative life, or a life well and virtuously spent, in the just discharge of one's immediate duty in any station, will ever be attended with a serenity of mind in old age : such a life as we learn Plato led, who died at his studies in the eighty-first year of his age : such as that of Isocrates, who is said to have wrote his oration, called the ²¹ Panathenaic, in his ninety-fourth year, and to have lived five years after ; whose master, Georgias of Leontium, lived one hundred and seven years, and till his death never left off his studies. This man being asked, how at such an age he could think life desirable, answered because he had no reason to complain of life, nor did he feel any real inconveniency from age ; an answer truly noble and worthy of a great and learned soul. It is the weak and

foolish only, who impute to old age what is purely owing to themselves. Ennius, whom I just now quoted, was far from this ; for in these lines,

As the swift racer, that has often run,
Th' Olympic course, and oft the prize has won,
Rests quiet in old age, when his fleet labor's done ;

He compares his own old age to that of a noble race-horse, which after his victories, was allowed to live at ease. But you cannot but remember the man himself ; for now, under the late consuls Titus Flaminius and Marcus Attilius, it is but nineteen years since his death, which happened in the consulate of Marcius Philippus the second time, and Servilius Cæpio ; the same year that I, then sixty-five years of age, with a firm clear voice, and full strength of ²² body, spoke for and carried the ²³ Voconian law. Ennius, then at the age of seventy years (for so long he lived) bore those two heavy loads, as most men would account them, viz. age and poverty, in such a manner, that he really appeared rather delighted, than to be at all uneasy under them.

But on considering the subject we are upon, I find there are four inconveniences charged on old age, which, they say, render it unhappy. One is, that it disables men from business ; another that it renders the body infirm ; the third, that it deprives us of the pleasures of life ; and lastly, that it is the next neighborhood to death. Now let us examine the weight of each of these particularly, and see how far the complaint is just. 'Tis said, it disables from business : But pray what kind of business ? Is it such as youth is capable of ? And because men have not still the same bodily strength they had in youth, are they therefore incapable of what is properly the business of age ? Did Fabius, think you, do nothing ? Did your father ²⁴ Lucius Paulus, Scipio, my dear deceased son's father-in-law, do nothing ? Did the ²⁵ Fabriciuses, the ²⁶ Curiuses, the ²⁷ Coruncanuses, and such other old men, do nothing, when by their counsels and authority they supported and steered the commonwealth ? ²⁸ Appius Claudius was not only old, but had also the misfortune to be blind ; yet he, when the

senate seemed inclined to make a peace, and enter into an alliance with Pyrrhus, had courage enough to express himself to the senate which Ennius gives us in his annals in verse :

What frenzy now has your wild minds possess ?

You, who were * erst with sagest counsels blest,

Yourselves on sure destruction thus to throw !

With the rest that follows ; spoke with great strength and gravity ; for you know the poem : but the speech itself that Appius then made in the senate, is still extant in his own words. And this part he acted no less than seventeen years after he was the last time consul, which was ten years after the first : and before he was consul the first time he had been censor. Which shews that in the time of Pyrrhus's war, he must have been very old ; yet this account of him we have from our ancestors. They talk idly therefore, who pretend that age disables from business. They might with as much justice assert, that a pilot on board a ship does nothing, because he neither mounts the shrouds, hauls the ropes, nor works at the pump ; but without any bodily labor, minds only the steerage, and directs the helms-man ; which is of more importance to the ship's preservation, than the work of all the rest besides. For it is neither by bodily strength, nor swiftness, nor agility, that momentous affairs are carried on ; but by judgment, counsel, and authority : the abilities for which are so far from failing in old age, that they truly increase with it. Unless you imagine that I, who, when I was in the several stations of a soldier, of tribune, of lieutenant general, and of consul, personally active in the war, am now idle and do nothing, because I am no longer, as formerly, in the field. But though not there, it will be allowed, I believe, that I am employed, at least, to full as good purpose at home. I now direct in the senate what our armies are to do abroad, and lay down the plan before-hand, how our dangerous rival, Carthage, that I am sure has been long meditating further mischief,

* Ennius's stile was very antiquated.

is to be prevented in her designs, and effectually humbled. For I shall ever think, while that place stands, it will be contriving our ruin; and that short of its total destruction, Rome can never be secure. And the glory of accomplishing this, "Scipio, I hope the immortal gods have reserved for you; that what your excellent grandfather made so great and happy a progress in, may by your virtue and conduct, as his worthy successor, be completed. This is now the thirty-third year, since that great man was taken from us; but his glorious actions will perpetuate his fame for ever. He died the year before I was censor, nine years after my consulate, under which at the ensuing election he was chosen again, and made the second time consul. But had his life been protracted to a hundred years, can you suppose it could ever have proved burthensome to him? He would not then indeed, as formerly, have given proofs of his abilities in youthful exercises, as racing, leaping, tilting, or fencing; but he would have done it abundantly by strength of reason, cool judgment, and mature counsel. And hence it is, that because it has been constantly observed, that old men principally excel in these, therefore our ancestors gave the great council of the state the title of senate, as consisting of a body of *senes*, or old men, as the word imports. The Lacedemonians also, for the same reasons, give their supreme council no other title than that of the old men. And to shew the justness of this, if you look into foreign story, you will find, that the downfall of the greatest states has been generally owing to the giddy administration of unexperienced young men; as on the contrary, others have been supported, or the tottering have been recovered, by the prudence and wise counsels of the aged. Thus in a play of the poet "Nævius, where one asks this question, "But how happened it, that in so small a compass of time you overset and lost so great a government?" The answer is, "a parcel of young, raw, and ignorant orators started up, who took upon them to act the statesmen; and found means to insinuate themselves with, and manage the people." For it is a truth but too well

known, that rashness attends youth, as prudence does old age.

But it is alleged, that memory fails in old age. That it does so, I freely grant; but then it is principally, where it has not been properly exercised; or with those who naturally have no strength of brain: for such as have, will pretty well retain it. ³¹ Themistocles could call every citizen of Athens by his name; and do you think, when he became old, that if he met Aristides, he would salute him by the name of Lysimachus? For my own part, I not only know these who are now living, but I remember their fathers and grandfathers: nor when I read over the inscriptions of the tombs, do I find I am in danger of losing mine. I never yet heard of an old man that forgot where he had hid his treasure. The oldest will remember what engages their thoughts and care, as when they give or take security, with such other affairs as concern them. How do the lawyers, the pontiffs, the augurs, and the philosophers, who live to a great age? What a vast number of particulars must all these comprehend in their memories? Men will retain their understanding and abilities, while they continue their application and diligence. This we find true, not only in men of great and public characters, but in those also, who have lived a quiet and inactive life, and spent it only in study. ³² Sophocles wrote tragedies at a very great age, and when his sons, apprehending that through his application to that business alone, he neglected all his other affairs, and consequently they would be ruined; they cited him into court, that (as you know it is with us, when people by their ill conduct ruin their estate, it is taken from them, and committed to better hands; so) the judges of Athens should take the same order with him, as with those who become incapable of business: he is said to have read to the judges a part of his tragedy, called Oedipus Coloneus, that he had then in hand, and to have asked them, whether they thought that the work of a dotard? upon which they acquitted him. Consider then, whether age can be truly said to destroy the capacity, or extinguish the abilities of the mind.

Was this man, was ³³ Hesiod, was ³⁴ Simonides, or ³⁵ Stesichorus, or those I mentioned before, * Isocrates and * Georgias, or ³⁶ Homer? Or were those princes of the philosophers, ³⁷ Pythagoras, or ³⁸ Democritus, or ³⁹ Plato, or ⁴⁰ Socrates, or those who came afterwards, ⁴¹ Zeno, and ⁴² Cleanthes, or he, whom you yourselves have seen in Rome, ⁴³ Diogenes the stoic; I say, were any of these disabled by age, or did it oblige them to silence? Did they not all, without sinking under it, continue their studies as in youth, to the last of their days, and to an extreme old age? But to insist no longer on those diviner studies, that may perhaps communicate a vigor to both mind and body, and to descend to low and common life: I can name several old countrymen of my particular acquaintance in this Sabine neighborhood, who never on account of their age, decline their business; nor ever have any considerable work carried on, either in planting, sowing, reaping, or storing, but they are themselves at the head of it: though you may say, this is not so much to be wondered at, in the business of the year, because (as it is said) no man thinks himself so old, but that he may live one year longer: but this alone is not the case with these men I speak of; they take not pains only in such work, as they may expect themselves to reap the fruits of; but they freely labor also in such as they are sure can produce none in their time: they raise nurseries, and plant trees, for the benefit only of another generation, or, as our ⁴⁴ Statius expresses it in his *Synephebi*, “ They plant to profit a succeeding age.” Nor, if you ask one of these men, for whom it is he is thus laboring, will he be at any loss to answer thus: I do it, he will say, for the immortal Gods, who, as they bestowed these grounds on me, require at my hands that I should transmit them improved to posterity, who are to succeed me in the possession of them.

That poet was much more just in what he said of an old man providing for his successor, than in this other saying of his.

* For these two, see note 21.

Indeed were age with no more ills attended,
 Than this alone, this were alone sufficient:
 That many things by living long we see
 We never wished to see.....

And I say, as probably, many things we wished, but scarce could hope, to see. But, are we exempt from this in youth, more than in old age? Do not men in all ages see things happen that displease them? I take the same poet to be yet more in the wrong, where he says,

But this in age, I think the worst of all,
 That old folks find the world grows weary of them,
 And they become a burthen to their friends.

On the contrary, I say, rather a pleasure, if it is not their own faults: for, as the wise and good are in age delighted with the company of young people of sense and good inclinations, and nothing makes age sit lighter on them, than the regard and esteem of such; so all young people, who desire to recommend themselves to the world by a virtuous life and solid accomplishments, must of course be pleased with the opportunity of improving themselves by the advice and informations of the most experienced: and thus I judge it is, that I observe you to be no less pleased with my conversation, than I truly am with yours. But you see that old age is so far from becoming languid and inactive, that it is always stirring, ever employing itself about something or other; generally indeed about such things as the person has been most conversant in, in the former part of his life. Nay, some are so very averse to idleness, that they rather choose to be learning something new, as ⁴⁵ Solon we see glorying of himself in his elegies, that, *daily learning something, he grew old*: as I also did, who, when I was well advanced in years, applied myself to learn Greek, and studied both the language and their literature with such eagerness, as if my thirst for them were never to be satisfied; for I longed to be acquainted with their affairs, and gained so much knowlege of them, that from thence I have been able to cite the several examples you have heard from me: nay, so strong a bent I had that way, that hearing Socrates in his old age had learned

to play on the lyre (for music with them was a reputable exercise) I had almost got into the humor of learning that too, but I declined it: however I took great pains in their other studies.

I must further say, that I do not now so much as wish to have the strength of youth again (for this is another of the charges against old age) more than I wished in youth for the strength of an ox or elephant. For it is our business only to make the best use we can of the powers granted us by nature, and whatever we take in hand, to do it with all our might. How silly then, and unworthy of a man, was that of ⁴⁶Milo of Croton, who, when weakened with age, beholding the Athletæ (or wrestlers) at their exercises, he looked on his own arms, and with this expression, *but these arms are now dead that once*——fell a crying: but the trifler mistook; for not his arms only; but rather himself was dead; since he never had any thing valuable in him, but the strength of his back and limbs; and if these were gone, the whole man were gone with them. ⁴⁷Sex-tus Æmilius never made such complaint, nor⁴⁸ Titus Coruncanius, who lived many years before him, nor⁴⁹ Publius Crassus, more lately; whose old age was employed in framing and drawing up laws for their country, and who appeared rather to improve in prudence and knowledge to the last of their days. I own indeed that the orator is not in all respects so capable in old age as he was in youth: for in that business, not only skill and abilities of the mind are required, but also strength of body and of the lungs. Yet those who had a good voice in their youth, will not wholly lose it in age: for though it abates in strength, it acquires a kind of softness and fluency, that render it agreeable. You see my years, and yet I have not lost mine. But even when it becomes low, and in some measure fails, the gravity and composure with which an old man sedately, yet eloquently, delivers himself, not only draws attention, but gains the favor of the audience; or, if he can not depend on his own utterance, he may however put it into the mouth of a Scipio or a Lælius, and do good service with it.

For, what can be more honorable, what more desirable in life, than to see old men waited on by numbers of the young, making their court to them for their advice and instruction? For none, certainly, will deny, that the aged are the best qualified for instructing of youth, and training them up in the knowledge, as well as animating them to the discharge of every important duty in life; than which there can be nothing of greater moment and consequence, nor of greater advantage to the public. And indeed I have often thought ³⁰Cneius Scipio, and Publius Scipio, and your two grand fathers, ³¹L. Æmilius and ³²P. Africanus extremely happy on this account, when I have seen them walk thus attended by the young nobility of our city, who seemed entirely to depend on them. And I must ever think, that all those who spend their time in improving others in knowledge, and teaching the nobler arts, when their natural strength of body fails them, are entitled to our highest regard and esteem; though it is undoubtedly true, that even this decay is oftener owing to some unhappy courses, and living too fast in youth, than to the natural effects of old age alone. For a libidinous and intemperate life in youth, will unavoidably deliver over the body languid and enervate to succeeding old age. Cyrus in his dying speech, as given us by Xenophon, denies that he ever found himself weaker in his old age, or less capable of performing any duty, than he had been in his younger years. And when I was a boy, I remember ³³Lucius Metellus, who having been created³⁴ pontifex maximus four years after his second consulate, continued his presidency in that college twenty-two years, appeared to the last as vigorous, as if he had not been sensible of any decay. I need say nothing of myself; though you know it is a privilege allowed old people to talk of themselves.

For do not you observe in Homer, how Nestor is on all occasions glorying of his own former exploits? For he lived, 'tis said, to three times the common age of man; that is, he lived to see three successive generations: and yet he had no reason to apprehend his being thought tiresome

on these subjects; since (as Homer says) his discourse flowed more sweet than honey from his tongue: and herein bodily strength had no share or concern at all. Yet the great⁵⁵ commander of all the Greeks, never once wished that he had ten men in the camp of Ajax's strength and courage, but ten such as Nestor: for, by the assistance of such counsellors, he doubted not but Troy would soon fall. But to return. I am now in my eighty-fourth year, and I wish indeed, I could boast the same of myself as Cyrus did. Yet this I can truly say, that though I have not the same strength of body as formerly, when I ⁵⁶first served in the Punic war, or when I was quæstor in it; or when consul in Spain; or, when tribune to the consul Glabrio, I fought at Thermopylæ: yet, as you see, age has not yet wholly unstrung me. The senate finds no defect in such abilities as are proper for that place; these are not wanting at the Rostra*; nor am I wanting to my friends or my clients. For I never could approve of that old proverb, though commended (I know) by some, which bids us be old betimes, if we would continue old long. On the contrary, I would rather chuse to be old for a less time, or die sooner, than to make myself old before I truly am. I therefore keep myself constantly employed; and no man, I believe ever yet found me quite idle. But I have not the strength of one of you; nor have you the strength of ⁵⁷Pontius the centurion; is he therefore to be preferred to you? He who has but a moderate share of strength, and applies it properly, to make the best use of it, as far as it will go, I assure you, will rarely have occasion to complain for want of more. Milo is said to have entered the Olympic field, carrying an

* The Rostra was a public place in Rome, where the orators, and those who spoke to the people on any public affair, whether in relation to the laws or judgments, &c. delivered what they had to say. This name Rostra, was given it, from its being built up with the beaks of the ships, that the Romans, on taking Actium, a sea-port town to the south-east of the mouth of the Tiber, and destroying their fleet, brought as trophies to Rome. *Vid. Liv. l. 8. c. 14. in fine.* And not as Lipsius says, (*de Magnitude. U. Romæ, lib. 3. c. 8.*) from those gained at the battle of Antium, fought by Augustus some years after this discourse was wrote.

ox on his back ; now, if the choice were given you, which would you prefer, Milo's strength of body, or Pythagoras's abilities of mind ? In short, while you have strength, use it ; when it leaves you, no more repine for the want of it, than you did when lads, that your childhood was past : or at the years of manhood, that you were no longer boys. The stages of life are fixed ; nature is the same in all, and goes on in a plain and steady course : every part of life, like the year, has its peculiar season : as children are by nature weak, youth is rash and bold ; staid manhood more solid and grave ; and so old age in its maturity, has something natural to itself, that ought particularly to recommend it. I suppose, Scipio, you hear how your grandfather's host^{ss} Massinissa, now at the age of ninety years, employs his time ; that it is indifferent to him, whether he walks or rides ; if he sets out on a journey on foot, he will not mount ; or if he gets on horse back, he will not alight ; that no rain nor weather can oblige him, when abroad, to cover his head ; and that, being thin of body, he is so active, as in his own person to discharge all the several duties of his station, as a king and a general. You see therefore, that constant exercise with temperance, will still preserve a competent share of our pristine vigor.

But allowing it, that old people lose their strength, I say again, they do not want it. The laws, their administration, the institutions and discipline of our ancestors, public and private, are their proper business ; but from employments that require strength of body in their execution, we are exempted. It is therefore so far from being the case with us, that more is expected from us than we are able to perform, that, to say the truth, there is much less. But it will be alleged, perhaps, that some people are so weakened with age, that by it they are rendered incapable of every kind of business whatsoever : to which I answer, that this is not so much the fault of age, as of constitution, or the want of health, which happens to all ages. How weakly was Publius Africanus's son, he who adopted you, Scipio : he was all his life so exceedingly infirm, that he scarce ever knew

what health was ; though, had he not been unfortunate in that particular, he might otherwise have proved another glory to our state ; for he had not only all his father's greatness of soul, but the further advantage also of having that adorned with the politest literature. What wonder is it then, if some old men labor under weakness, since the youngest we see, cannot escape it ? We must prepare ourselves, my friends, against old age ; and as it is advancing endeavor by our diligence to mitigate and correct the natural infirmities that attend it : we must use proper' preservatives, as we do against diseases ; great care must, in the first place, be taken of our health ; all bodily exercise must be moderate, and especially our diet ; which ought to be of such a kind, and in such proportion, as may refresh and strengthen nature, without oppressing it. Nor must our care be confined to our bodies only : for the mind requires much more, which, without it will not only decay, but our understanding will as certainly die away in old age, as a lamp not duly supplied with oil. The body, we know, when over-labored, becomes heavy, and, as it were, jaded ; but 'tis exercise alone that supports the spirits, and keeps the mind in vigor. Hence it is, that you see old men disadvantageously represented by Cæcilius, and other comic poets on the stage, when the characters of weak and credulous, or dissolute old fellows, are exposed to contempt and ridicule : but these are the vices only of such as, when grey with years, abandon themselves to idleness and extravagance, and not of old age itself. For as wantonness and loose desires are more peculiar to youth than to the aged ; and yet not to all youth, but to such only as are by nature viciously inclined, or have been loosely educated ; so that silly dotishness, that is imputed to old age, will be found only in persons of weak and abject spirits. *Appius had four stout sons, and five daughters ; yet though he was very old, and blind besides, he was able not only to govern that great family, but also to manage his large dependencies of

† Appius Claudius Cæcus, mentioned in note 2.

clients : he kept his mind ever intent upon his affairs, without flagging or bending under his age, and maintaining not only an authority, but a command over his people : his servants stood in awe of him ; his children revered him, and they all loved him ; and that whole family constantly kept up to the sober and strict discipline derived to them by succession from their ancestors. Thus old age is ever honorable, where it takes care to support its proper rights, and gives them not weakly away, but asserts them to the last. For, as we commend such youths, as shew something of the solidity of age ; so we do the same by the aged, who express the liveliness of youth ; and whoever pursues this method, though he may become old and decayed in body, will never be so in mind, nor be found so in his understanding. I am now on the seventh book of my *Origines*, "wherein I am collecting all the monuments of antiquity of every kind. I am also transcribing those orations, that I formerly delivered in pleading the several causes I defended. I am further treating of the civil law, and of that of the Augurs and Pontiffs. I read much Greek, and agreeable to the Pythagorean precept, the better to exercise my memory, I recollect at night what I have heard, said or done in the day. These are the methods I pursue to keep my mind employed ; and while with a constant and assiduous application I continue these exercises, I cannot say I am sensible of any want of strength. I am still able to serve my friends ; I come duly to the senate, and there propose such matters of weight, as I have long pondered and digested ; and I support what I propose with arguments, to which bodily strength can contribute nothing. And if for want of a competent share of that strength, I should be rendered incapable of all this ; yet I could please myself, even on my couch, with running them over in my thoughts. And whoever will pursue the same methods and practise thus, will scarce be sensible of the advances of old age, but gradually sliding on, and insensibly decaying, without any sudden changes, will at last drop like ripe fruit, or go off like an expiring light.

The third charge against old age was, that it is (they say) insensible to pleasure, and the enjoyments arising from the gratifications of the senses. And a most blessed and heavenly effect it truly is, if it eases us of what in youth was the sorest and cruellest plague of life. Pray listen, my good friends, to an old discourse of ⁶⁰Archytas the Tarentine, a great and excellent man in his time, which I learned when I was but young myself, at Tarentum, under Fabius Maximus, at the time he recovered that place. "The greatest curse, the heaviest plague," said he, "to which man is subject from nature, is bodily pleasure, when the passions are indulged, and strong inordinate desires are raised and set in motion for obtaining it. For this have men betrayed their country; for this have states and governments been plunged in ruin; for this have treacherous correspondencies been held with public enemies: in short there is no mischief so horrid, no villany so execrable, that this will not prompt to penetrate. And as adultery, and all the crimes of that tribe, are the natural effects of it; so of course are all the fatal consequences that ensue on them. 'Tis owned, that the most noble and excellent gift of heaven to man, is his reason: and 'tis as sure, that of all the enemies reason has to engage with, pleasure is the most capital, and the most pernicious: for where its great incentive, lust, prevails, temperance can have no place; nor under the dominion of pleasure, can virtue possibly subsist. That this might appear more plain, he desired his hearers to form to themselves the idea of a person in the highest raptures, enjoying the most exquisite pleasures that could be conceived; and then try whether they could so much as imagine, such a person in that state of enjoyment, capable of reflection, or making any more use of his reason, than if he were entirely divested of it. He therefore insisted, that nothing was more detestable, nothing more directly destructive to the dignity of man, than the pursuit of bodily pleasure, which it is possible to indulge to a height, and for a continuance, without damping or extinguishing all the brighter faculties of the soul, and all the powers and light of the understand-

ing. This discourse our host Nearchus of Tarentum, who had continued firm in the Roman interest after that city was betrayed to Annibal, said, Archytas had used to Caius Pontius the Samnite, the father of Pontius⁶¹ who beat our consuls Spurius Posthumius and Titus Veturius at Caudium; that their old men had handed down the relation to them, and that Plato of Athens was present at the time; which is probable enough; for I find Plato was at Tarentum the year that ⁶²Lucius Æmilius and Appius Claudius were consuls. Now this discourse I repeat to you, that from hence you may learn, how much those, who cannot as they ought in their strength of age resist the allurements of pleasure, are afterwards obliged to their years, that cure them of those irregular inclinations they had not before the power to correct. For all voluptuousness is undoubtedly an enemy to reason; it obstructs wise counsels, blinds the understanding, and is in its own nature inconsistent with true virtue. It was with great uneasiness to myself, that when censor, I turned ⁶³Lucius Flaminius, brother to that great man, Titus Flaminius, out of the senate, seven years after he had himself been consul. But I could not bear, that such a scandalous instance of his dissoluteness should pass without public censure. For while he as consul commanded the army in Gaul, to please a lewd strumpet he carried with him, he caused one of the prisoners who were under sentence of death, to be brought in before them, and there, to gratify her in her barbarous request, that she might see a man put to death, he struck off his head on the spot. His brother Titus being then censor, this was not in his time taken notice of; but when Flaccus and I succeeded him, we judged it incumbent on us in discharge of our trust, to exert the authority of our office, and brand with ignominy an action so detestable, that it not only involved the actor himself in infamy, but also cast a reproach on the whole state.

I have often heard our old men, who said they had it from their elders, relate, that Caius Fabricius, when he was sent ambassador to Pyrrhus, to redeem the captives,

was strangely surprised, when⁶⁴ Cineas the orator, who attended Pyrrhus, told him, there was in Athens a great professor of wisdom, who laid it down as his grand principle, that all we do should be directed only to pleasure; and that⁶⁵ M. Curius and⁶⁶ Titus Coruncanius hearing this from Fabricius, used to wish, that Pyrrhus and the Samnites could be converted to that⁶⁷ professor's religion; for then it would cost Rome much less trouble to master them. M. Curius was for some time contemporary with⁶⁸ Publius Decius, who five years before Curius was the first time consul, had in his fourth consulate devoted himself for the public safety, Fabricius and Coruncanius living in the same age with him, must also have known him well. And all these, not only by their own conduct, shewed their firm persuasion, but they were further confirmed in it by that action of Decius, that there is something truly great and excellent in its own nature worthy to be contended for, and which all good men would, in despite of all the allurements of pleasure for its own sake pursue, and labor to obtain. Thus I judged it necessary to be the more full on this head of pleasure, and shew the dangers of it, to the end you might clearly see, it is so far from being a disadvantage to old age, in palling our inclinations to pleasure, that on the contrary it is rather a great and valuable blessing. For if it is in a good measure dead to the enjoyments others find in banqueting, sumptuous feasts and carousings, it is freed at the same time from all the troublesome effects of these; as fumes, crudities, uneasy sleep, or the want of it; with divers other such like disorders. Yet as nature has so ordered it that pleasure should have a very strong hold of us, and the inclination to it appears deeply founded in our very composition, (and 'tis with too much justice that the divine Plato calls it the bait of evil, by which men are caught as fish with a hook;) therefore, though age is not taken, nor can well bear, with those splendid sumptuous feastings and revels, yet we are not so insensible to the pleasures of life, but that we can indulge ourselves, and, take a real delight in sober and temperate entertainments with our friends. I

remember, when I was a boy, I often saw⁶⁹ Caius Duillius, Marcus's son, who gained the first victory over the Carthaginians at sea, returning home from supper with torches and music before him ; a practice that he thought fit (though without any precedent for it) to continue in his private station : so great was the pleasure he gave himself, though not without some vanity, in keeping up the memory of that great action. But why should I quote others, and not rather return and speak of myself? In my youth I had always a set of select companions ; for those societies or clubs now in practice, took their beginning when I was questor, at the time the ⁷⁰ mother of the gods was brought to Rome. My friends and I then had our meetings and collations duly ; but these were always moderate, though it was at an age when our blood was warm, which inevitably cools as years come on. Nor did I ever measure my pleasure in those entertainments by any sensual gratifications whatever, but solely by the conversation or discourses we held on various subjects. For our ancestors very wisely called those meetings of friends to eat and drink together, by the name of *Convivium*, or living-together ; as if society were the design of them : a term much more proper than that of the Greeks, whose name for them imports nothing but eating and drinking together ; as if they preferred that part of the entertainment, which is truly in itself the least valuable.

In such regular entertainments, when seasonable, I own I have always, in view of what I have mentioned, taken a sensible pleasure : nor do I chuse for my companions only persons about my own age : for of these there are now very few left ; but those also of yours. And I think myself much obliged to my age, that it has increased my inclination for discourse and conversation, and rendered the business of eating and drinking a matter still of more indifferency to me. Yet where others take a pleasure even in these, that I may not be thought to declare war against all gratifications of sense, as nature requires refreshment, and old age is not without its relish ; I think such entertainments

even for the sake of good cheer, so far as this is comfortable to nature, are very allowable, and may sometimes be indulged, when duly limited within the bounds of moderation. But what now gives me the greatest pleasure in these cases, is to practise the method instituted by our ancestors, that is, that the conversation should turn on subjects proposed by the master of the feast, and that the cups should be moderate and cooling, in a cool and shady place in summer, as in that of ⁷¹Xenophon; or in the sun, or, if colder, by a good fire, in winter: the method that I now practise amongst my Sabine neighbors, whom I frequently meet on such occasions, and spend a good part of the night with them*. But to return to the charge. It is alleged that old age is not sensible to that anxiety for pleasure, which is felt in the other periods of life; which is certainly true: but at the same time it has this great advantage to balance it, that it does not so much as feel the want of it. Sophocles said well, who, when he was asked at a great age, whether he had still any acquaintance with Venus, answered, Heavens forbid! I thank the gods I am got rid of that tyranny. Such as are addicted to those pleasures, will think it hard to be debarred of them; but others, who have gone through and are past them, find themselves happier in being deprived of the inclination. Nor can any one be said to want, what he does not so much as wish for. And this state, I say, of not desiring, is preferable in itself even to that of enjoying. 'Tis true, that men in their prime have a greater gust for all pleasures; but then most of these are, in the first place, but mean in themselves; and in the next, if old men have not the same to such a height, they either desire them not all, or they have a competent share of such as are fit for them. As those, perhaps, who sit in the pit

* 'Tis said of Old Cato, that he could be free enough sometimes with the festive cup: hence Horace, *l. 3. Ode 21.*

Narratur et priaci Catonis

Sæpe mero caluisse virtus.

Old Cato would, 'tis said, with wine

Make his reverend face to shine.

at the theatre, have more of the pleasure in seeing ⁷²Turpio Ambivius act, than such as sit at a greater distance in the galleries; yet these last, though they have less, are not wholly without theirs; so youth, as it has a nearer communication, and livelier relish for pleasure, may be more powerfully affected with it; yet those, whose age has distanced them from the gayer scenes of it, have their share of delight, and enjoy as much of it, at least, as they crave or wish for. For how solid, how sincere, think you, must that pleasure be to the mind, when after it has happily worked through the ruffling tides of those uneasy passions, lust, ambition, emulation, contention, and every strong impetuous desire, it finds itself arrived at its harbor, and like a veteran discharged from the fatigues of war, got home, and retired within itself into a state of tranquillity? But if it has the further advantage of literature and science, and can by that means feed on, or divert itself with some useful or amusing study, no condition can be imagined more happy than such calm enjoyments, in the leisure and quiet of old age. How warm did we see ⁷³Gallus, your father's intimate friend, Scipio, in pursuit of his astronomical studies to the last? How often did the rising sun surprise him, fixed on a calculation he began over night? And how often the evening, on what he had begun in the morning? What a vast pleasure did it give him, when he could foretel to us, when we should see the sun or moon in an eclipse? And how many others have we known in their old age delighting themselves in other studies? which, though of less depth than those of Gallus, yet must be allowed to be in themselves ingenious and commendable? How pleased was ⁷⁴Nævius with his poem of the Punic War? And how ⁷⁵Plautus, with his Truculentus and Pseudolus? I remember even old Livius,* who had his first dramatic piece acted six years before I was born, in the con-

* Livius Andronicus was the first Roman poet, mentioned by their writers; there is nothing of his remaining, but a few short fragments from the quotations of grammarians; according to Cicero in *Tusc. Quest. lib. 1.* as also in his Brutus. He acted that first piece in the 512th year of Rome, 240 years before Christ.

sulship of Cento and Tuditanus, and continued his compositions till I was grown up towards the state of manhood. What need I mention ⁷⁶ Licinius Crassus's studies in the pontifical and civil law? Or those of Publius Scipio,* now lately made supreme pontiff? And all these I have seen, not only diverting themselves in old age, but eagerly pursuing the several studies they affected. With what unwearied diligence did we behold ⁷⁷ Marcus Cethegus, whom Ennius justly enough called the soul of persuasion, applying himself at a great age to oratory, and the practice of pleading? Upon all which let me ask you, what gratifications of sense, what voluptuous enjoyments in feasting, wine, women, or play, and the like, are to be compared with those noble entertainments? Those pure and serene pleasures of the mind, the rational fruits of knowledge and learning, that grafted on a good natural disposition, cultivated by a liberal education, and trained up in prudence and virtue, are so far from being palled in old age, that they rather continually improve, and grow on the possessor. Excellent therefore was that expression of Solon, which I mentioned before, when he said, *that daily learning something, he grew old*: for the pleasures arising from such a course, namely those of the mind, must be allowed incomparably to exceed all others.

But I am now come to speak to the pleasures of a country life, with which I am infinitely delighted. To these old age never is an obstruction. It is the life of nature, and appears to me the exactest plan of that which a wise man ought to lead. Here our whole business is with the earth, the common parent of us all, which is never found refractory, never denies what is required of it, nor fails to return back what is committed to it with advantage, sometimes indeed with less, but generally with a very large interest. Nor is it the view of this increase only which yields delight, but there arises yet a greater from a contemplation of the powers of the earth, and vegetation: for to

* Scipio Nassica, see note 70.

me it is most affecting to behold, how, when the soil is duly labored and mellowed, and receives after harrowing the scattered seed into its genial bosom, warmed with due heat and moisture, it there cherishes it in its vital embraces; and then opening, shoots it upwards, and rears it into a verdant blade; which taking fast hold with its fibrous roots below, springs up into a jointed stalk, preparing new seed again in its cells, which gradually enlarges from the ear, with the grain exactly ranged in decent rows; and is secured with awns, to defend it from the rapine of the little birds, that would otherwise assail and make prize of it. But why should I enter into particulars, or observe upon the first planting, shooting, and growth of the delicious vine? I should never have done, if I indulged myself in representing at large the pleasure I take in these solaces of my old age. Nor must I dwell on that plastic power seen in all the productions of the earth, which from so small a grain in the fig, or the little stone of a grape, or from the minute seeds of others, raises up such bulky trunks with their shady heads and extended branches. But who can consider the variety in the methods of propagation, by shoots, sprouts, loppings, quicksets and slips, without being seized at the same time with admiration and delight? The vine, that naturally runs low, and cannot rear itself without a support, is for this end provided with tendrils, by which, like so many hands, it lays hold on every thing it meets with, that may raise it; and by these aids expands, and becomes so luxuriant, that to prevent its running out into useless wood, the dresser is obliged to prune off its superfluous wandering branches: after which, from the standing joints, in the ensuing spring, the little bud, called the gem, pushes out the new shoot, whereon the tender young grape is formed; which gradually swelling by nourishment from the earth, is at first austere to the taste, but, guarded with leaves around, that it may neither want due warmth, nor suffer by rays too scorching, it ripens by the sun's enlivening beams, and acquires that delicious sweetness and beautiful form, that equally pleases both the taste

and eye ; and then enriches the world with that noble liquor, the advantages of which I need not name. Yet it is not the sense of these, nor of all the advantages of husbandry, as I have said, that so nearly affects me, as the pleasure I find in their culture alone : such as ranging the vines, and their supporting perches in exact and even rows, in arching and binding their tops, lopping off the woody and barren, and training and encouraging the fruitful tendrils, to supply every vacancy ; and then contemplating the beauty and order with the process of nature in the whole. What need I mention the pleasure of improving the more barren grounds, and rendering them fruitful, by bringing down water in refreshing rills, on the over-dry ; and as carefully carrying it off from the wet and sunken, or by digging, and repeatedly trenching, to render them mellow ? Or of the advantages of manure, of which I treated in my ⁷⁸ book of husbandry, though the learned ⁷⁹ Hesiod, amongst his rules on that subject, has not one word of it. And yet Homer, whom I take to have lived some ages before him, makes old Laertes diverting the thoughts of his son Ulysses's absence, by rustic labors and dunging the fields.⁸⁰ But besides the pleasures already mentioned, from corn-fields, meads, and vines, there is yet a vast fund for others, from orchards, cattle, bees, and gardens, with the endless varieties of beautiful flowers, that yield an entertainment ever new and ever delighting : for in orchards there arises a pleasure not only from the ranges of fruit-bearing trees, all answering to the view in just and exact order ; but above all, from their improvement by grafting ; the finest invention, in my opinion, in husbandry.

I could with pleasure further proceed in enumerating many other recreations, and delightful entertainments the country yields ; but I am sensible I have dwelt rather too long on these already. You will however excuse me, I hope, and impute it in part to the pleasure the agreeableness of the subject yields me ; and in some part also, if you please, to the talkativeness of old age ; a fault that, I must acknowledge, even while I am defending it, most com-

monly attends it. But thus employed st Manius Curius after he had triumphed over the Samnites and Sabines and Pyrrhus, spent his old age here in my neighboring farm ; which as often as I view, I am seized with wonder, but can never sufficiently admire, either the great moderation of the man, or the regular discipline of his time. Curius, as he sat one evening by his fire-side, met with a tempting encounter: the Samnites, for whom he was too hard in the field, in hopes of softening him, sent him a large present of gold ; but he with a brave disdain rejecting it, sent back the messengers with this answer only, that he wanted none of their gold, but thought it much more glorious to command those who valued it, than to possess it himself. Now, could so great a soul fail, think you, of making his years easy to himself, and agreeable at any age ? But to return to a country-life, that I may not quit the subject I am upon, I mean, my old age: in those days the senators, that is, the *senes*, or old men of the state, dwelt in the country, and lived on their farms, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus was at his plow, when he was called upon to take upon him the supreme office of dictator. This also was he, by whose command his master of the horse, Servilius Hala, put Spurius Mælius to death, for aspiring to sovereign power, and to make himself absolute in the city. So Curius, and many others of those brave men, were called from time to time off their farms, to take upon them the highest trusts and charges in the state or war : and from hence it is, that the serjeants or messengers that wait on the senate, first had, and to this day retain their name of *viatores*, or way-men. Now, can we imagine that those great men found themselves distressed by old age, while they would thus in the country give themselves up to all the variety of delightful employments, that the business of it either furnishes or requires ? As for me, I must own, I think it impossible that any other kind of life whatever can exceed it. For besides that mankind cannot possibly subsist without it, there is not only a vast pleasure derived from viewing and considering the particulars I have mentioned, but it also fills the heart with joy.

to behold, how by proper care and management every thing is produced in abundance, that can be subservient either to the support and real necessities of human life, or even to the pleasures and comforts of it, as well as what is required for the service of the immortal gods. Those therefore who make pleasure their aim, and think there is no other good in life, may here effectually find it. For can there be a greater than to see our labors crowned with full granaries, our cellars with wine, oil, honey, and all kind of provisions? Our dairies with cheese; and plenty of pigs, kids, lambs, and fowl around us? Our gardens also are, as the country people call it, a lasting fitch, from whence they may constantly cut, and it as constantly supplies them. Here also at suitable times, are our labors seasoned with the agreeable and innocent diversions of hunting and fowling; to say nothing of the delightful prospect of meadows in their verdure, and groves of planted trees; as well as those of vines and olives that have been mentioned already. But I shall wind up, with observing, that as there is nothing more profitable, so there is not in nature, in my opinion, any thing more beautiful or affecting, than to behold a plantation, with all the parts of it, in complete and perfect order. And this, as I have said, is a pleasure, that old age is so far from being incapable of enjoying, that it is by a kind of impulse of nature solicited and drawn to it. For no where else can it meet with such suitable entertainments. Here the cool shades and refreshing breezes, with purling streams, invite abroad to pass the summer's sultry heats; and here good rousing fires furnish large provision against the colder blasts of winter. To others therefore we can freely resign all other diversions, in arms and horses, with their military exercises, and all their accoutrements, their tennis, and every other sport; only, if they please, they may leave us chequers and tables; or even these also we can give up; since old age can be very easy and very happy without such trifling amusements.

All the writings of Xenophon are on many accounts highly useful; and I would advise you diligently to read

them ; which I doubt not but you do of yourselves. How fully and how excellently does he, in that book called his *Oeconomics*, set out the advantages of husbandry and a country life ? And that you may see he thought no employment so fit for a king as this, Socrates there discoursing with Critobulus, tells him, that when Lysander of Lacedæmon, a person of great merit, went to Cyrus the younger, king of the Persians, at Sardis, with the presents their allies had collected ; Cyrus entertaining him with great courtesy and civility, shewed him a garden planted with extreme elegance ; in which Lysander observing the beautiful forms of the trees in their ranges, exactly disposed in the quincunx order ; the cleanness and neatness of the walks and borders, and the delicious fragrancy of the flowers that breathed all around their refreshing odors ; he was greatly taken with them all : but above all the rest, he said, he admired the ingenuity of the man, who had designed, and with so much art and skill disposed the whole. This is all my own doing, said Cyrus ; the design was mine, I marked and measured out the walks and rows, and many of the trees I planted with my own hands. Then Lysander observing also at the same time the neatness of his person, and viewing his purple, with the richness of his attire, set off, after the Persian manner, with much gold and jewels, said, they may justly call you happy, Cyrus, since you are at the same time both good and great ; your virtue and your fortune equally adorn each other. And this happiness, I say again, is left for old men to enjoy : nor can age nor any length of years disable them, while they have health and strength to walk, from enjoying, to their last period, those sweet amusements and diversions, that rural scenes, and the employments of a country life afford. We find that ²³ Marcus Corvinus lived to a hundred years, and spent his last days in agriculture on his farm. Between his first and last consulate, there were forty-six years ; he therefore was engaged in public employments and trusts of honor the full term ²⁴ that our ancestors set for the commencement of old age. But in this, his latter days were more happy and glorious than his preceding

that he was more illustrious in himself and clothed with a greater authority freed from the toil that commonly attends it: for authority I esteem the crown and glory of old age. How conspicuous did this appear in ⁸⁵ L. Cæcilius Metellus? And how in ⁸⁶ Atilius Calatinus? on whom many nations agreed in conferring this great and noble character, that *he was the worthiest man of his country*; as it is fully declared in that copy of verses now inscribed on his tomb, which therefore are well known. Justly then might he be accounted honorable and great, in whose praises the voices of all nations conspired. How deservedly great did the late supreme pontiff, *Publius Crassius, as also his successor in the same dignity, ⁸⁷ Marcus Lepidus, appear to us all? Why should I again mention Paulus,† or Africanus,‡ or Maximus?§ Who all bore so great an authority with the people, that not only their opinions when declared, but even their looks and nods carried an awe with them, and in a manner commanded submission. Old age in a person graced with honors, is attended with such respect and authority, that the sense of this alone is preferable to all the pleasures youth can enjoy.

Yet in all I have said, I desire to be understood to mean the old age of such persons only, as have in their youth laid solid foundations for esteem in advancing years; for on no other terms ought we to expect it. And hence it was, that what I once said in a public speech, met with such general applause, when I observed, that miserable was that man's old age, who needed the help of oratory to defend him. Grey hairs and wrinkles avail nothing to confer the authority I am here speaking of: it must be the result of a series of good actions, and nothing but a life honorably and virtuously led, through all the advancing steps of it, can crown old age with this blessed harvest of its past labors. Nor are those common marks of respect, though but of little moment in themselves, to be altogether slighted; such as morning salutations; to have the way or upper-hand

* See note 49. † See notes 24 and 51. ‡ See notes 7 and 52. § Note 11.

given; to be waited on home or from home, and to be consulted; which, both with us and in all well-regulated states, in proportion as they are more or less so, are more strictly observed and practised. Lysander of Sparta, whom I lately mentioned, was wont to say, that Lacedemon was of all places the most honorable sanctuary for old age: for no where in the world is a greater deference paid to years, and in no place grey hairs more revered and regarded. I find this also related, that a very old man coming into the theatre at Athens, to see the play, and the throng being so great, that he could find no room nor seat among his own citizens, passing along towards that part where the ambassadors of Lacedemon, then present, were placed; they all immediately rose up to give him a seat. The Athenians observing this, clapt, and much applauded the action; upon which one of the Spartans passed this just reflection, that the Athenians (he perceived) knew very well what was right, but they knew not how to do it. There are many good institutions in our college of Augurs, and particularly in this I am now speaking of, that the oldest man leads, and all the members deliver their opinions according to their rank in years; the most ancient always taking place, not only of such as have been in higher posts than themselves, but even of those, who at the time bear the supreme command, and are at the head of affairs in the state. Now, what satisfaction, think you, can all the pleasures of sensation taken together, yield, that will bear a comparison with those the mind must feel, from the returns of reverential respect paid to the authority of such an honorable age? Which, whoever enjoys and rightly applies, seems to me to have well and happily performed in acting his part in the drama of life, and at last, like an approved actor, he makes his last part the best, and quits the stage with an universal plaudit. But it is said, people as they grow in years, become more peevish, morose, and passionate; and you may add covetous too; but, as I have said, these are the faults of the men, and not of old age. Yet something of a little moroseness might pre-

bably, though not altogether justly, be excused; for they may sometimes be apt to think themselves slighted and played on; and further, a frail body can bear but little, and therefore will be the sooner offended. But all this may by proper application be prevented or remedied: for by reflection and a watchful guard kept on the motions of the heart, natural temper may be sweetened, and our conduct softened. Of this we see frequent instances in life, and on the stage a remarkable one in the two brothers²⁸ in Terence's *Adelphi*. How rough and peevish is the one, how mild and good the other? And so the case will generally hold. Some wines sour with age, while others grow better and richer. A gravity with some severity is to be allowed; but by no means ill-nature. What covetousness in old men can mean, I must own, I cannot comprehend; for can any thing be more senselessly absurd, than that the nearer we are to our journey's end, we should still lay in the more provision for it.

We are now come to the fourth and last charge, which is thought most nearly to affect old age, and to give the greatest anxiety of all others, viz. the approach of death, which 'tis certain can be at no great distance. But miserable is the case of that old man, who in so long a course of years, has not laid in a sufficient provision against those fears, and enabled himself to contemn death; which is either to be slighted, as being in reality nothing in itself, in case it puts an intire end to us, soul as well as body; or else, it is to be valued, and to be desired and wished for, if it leads us into another state, in which we are to enjoy eternity: and between these there can be no medium. What then am I to fear in death, if, after it, I am to have no sense, and therefore can feel no pain: or otherwise am to become immortal in another state by the change? But again: Can there be one so void of sense, as to think himself sure of living even to the next evening? Nay, youth in its greatest vigor, is subject to many more casualties, and exposed to much greater and more frequent dangers that may shorten life than old age itself, which is allowed to be drawn so near its

end. Their heat of blood, and the frequent changes of heats and colds, which they undergo, render them more liable to fevers and other fits of sickness, which, when they happen, bear heaviest on the strongest constitutions; nor have they generally, when sick, the patience to be so carefully nursed, as more elderly and experienced people. And from these and such like causes it is, that we see so few attain to old age. But happy would it be for the world, if more lived to reach it: for as prudence and skill are gained by experience, and this depends on, and is enlarged by length of days; we might from greater numbers of people, grown old in such experience, expect to see the affairs of life, both public and private, more regularly administered; and, indeed, without some such, government could scarce subsist at all. But to return to the consideration of death impending. How can that be accounted an unhappiness peculiar to old age, which we well know is common, and frequently happens to the youngest, as well as to the old? I found by near experience, in my own⁹⁰ dear son, and we saw in the death of your⁹⁰ two brothers, Scipio, who we expected were growing up to the highest honors in Rome, that no age is privileged, but death is common to all. It may however be said, perhaps, that youth has room at least to hope they have length of life before them, which in old men would be vain. But foolish is that hope: for what can be more absurd, than to build on utter uncertainties, and account on that for sure, which probably may never happen? And to what is alleged, that the old man has no room left for hope, I say, just so much the happier is his condition, than that of the young; because, he has already attained, and is sure of what the other only wishes and hopes for: the one wishes to live long, the other is at the end of that wish, he has got it; for he has lived long already. Yet, oh, good gods! What is it in life, that can be said to be of long duration? Though we should hold it to the utmost extent of age, or admit we should live the days of that⁹¹ Tartessian king, (for I have read that one Arganthonius, reigned at Cadiz, four-score years, and lived to a hundred and twenty) yet

in my opinion nothing can properly be termed lasting, that has a certain period fixed: for when that is once come, all the past is over and gone; and in the business of life, when that is run out, nothing remains to us, but what results from past good and virtuous actions. The hours, and days, and months, and years, all slide away, nor can the past time ever more return, or what is to follow be fore-known. We ought all to be content with the time and portion assigned us. No man expects of any one actor on the theatre, that he should perform all the parts of the piece himself: one rote only is committed to him, and whatever that be, if he acts it well, he is applauded. In the same manner, it is not the part of a wise man to desire to be busy in these scenes to the last plaudit. A short term may be long enough to live it well and honorably; and if you hold it longer, when past the first stages, you ought no more to grieve that they are over, than the husbandman repines that the spring is past, and the summer heats come on; or after these, the more sickly autumn. The spring represents youth, and shews what fruits may be expected; the following seasons are for ripening and gathering in those fruits: and the best fruits of old age are, as I have repeatedly said, the recollecting, and, as it were, feeding on the remembrance of that train and store of good and virtuous deeds, of which, in the course of life, we laid in a kind of provision for this season. But further we are to consider, that as all we enjoy is from nature, whatever proceeds from, or is conformable to the established laws of this, must in itself be good. Now, can any thing be more agreeable to those laws, than that people in old age should die, since, more inconsistently with the order of nature, we find the same thing happens to youth, even in the prime of their years? But the difference is great; for young men seem to be forced from life, as fires are extinguished by great quantities of water thrown on them; when on the contrary, old men expire of themselves, like a flame when all its fuel is spent. And as unripe fruit requires some force to part it from its native bough; but when come to full maturity, it drops of itself,

without any hand to touch it: so young people die, by something violent or unnatural; but the old, by mere ripeness. The thoughts of which to me, are now become so agreeable, that the nearer I draw to my end, it seems like discovering the land at sea, that, after the tossings of a tedious and stormy voyage, will yield me a safe and quiet harbor.

All other stages of life have their first periods, at which they change into the next succeeding; but old age has no certain limits; it may end sooner or later. All we have to do, is to live it well while it lasts, and do our best to discharge the respective duties of our station, with a just contempt of death, that, come when it will, we may without surprise be prepared for it. And this will give old age more courage and resolution, than even youth itself, in its highest vigor can pretend to. On this was ⁹² Solon's answer to Pisistratus grounded, who, when asked by that ⁹³ tyrant, on what foundation he built his presumption, in so boldly opposing him, answered,.....on his age. As if he should say, you can but take my life, and of that there is now so little left, that it is not to be regarded. But the most desirable end of life is, when with our understandings clear, and our senses intire, the same sovereign power of nature that formed us, again dissolves us. For, in our frame, as in all other things, ships, edifices, and the like, the work is best taken to pieces by the same hand that first put it together: and as all things with age become crazy and tender, it is then done by much the easiest. Thus old people, for the little remainder of life that is left them, should stand loose and indifferent, neither anxious to have it prolonged, nor precipitantly, nor without just cause to shorten it; remembering the precept of Pythagoras, that no man should quit his post, but at the command of his general, that is, of God himself. And in regard to those we are to leave behind us, though some have commended Solon for saying—He wished not to die unmourned and unlamented by his friends; in which his sense doubtless was, that he desired

while he lived to be loved and valued by them ; yet I know not, but that of Ennius is altogether as just,

Let none with tears or sighs my funeral grace ;

for his meaning was, that a death crowned with immortality, ought by no means to be lamented.

Again, if we consider the article of death, or the pain supposed to attend it, we shall find, that in dying there is either no pain at all, or, if any, it is especially to old people, of a very short continuance. And after it, there is either no sense at all, (as I have said) or such as we have great reason to wish for. But this is a subject which concerns not old men alone, it is the business of the young as well as the old, to meditate on death, and to make the thoughts of it so familiar to them, that in every age they can despise it, and so guard themselves against it, that it can never surprise them. Without this provision, it is impossible at any stage of life, to have the mind free and easy ; since no man can be ignorant that he must die, nor be sure that he may not that very day. How then can such as dread death, have, under such absolute uncertainties, so much as one quiet minute ? But I need not dwell on this head, when I reflect on our own history, and consider, not only such examples of intrepidity, and a noble contempt of death ; as that of ⁹⁴ Lucius Brutus, who so bravely fell in defending the liberties of his country ; or of the ⁹⁵ two Decii, who devoting themselves for the safety of it, pushed with their horses, into the midst of the enemy, with no other view, than to be cut to pieces ; nor of ⁹⁶ Marcus Atilius, who, to keep his word to his enemies, returned to certain tortures and death ; or of the two ⁹⁷ Scipio's, who, to obstruct the passage of the Carthaginians, exposed and lost their own lives ; or of your grandfather ⁹⁸ Lucius Paulus Scipio who resolved by his own death to atone for the rashness of his colleague, in our shameful overthrow at Cannæ ; or of ⁹⁹ Marcus Marcellus, whose death even the most inveterate of our enemies thought fit to honor with a funeral. I say, I need not dwell on this head of the contempt of death, when I reflect not

only on the noble instances of it in such great men as these, but even on those of our ^{own} legions themselves (as I have noted in my *Origines*) who, when the service or honor of their country called, have offered their own lives as victims, and cheerfully marched up to posts, from which they knew there was no probability they should ever return. Now, if young men, or those in the vigor of life, and many of them not only uncultivated by learning, but mere rustics, who never had the opportunity of instruction, could so easily condemn death, shall old men, who have had the advantage of literature and philosophy, be afraid of it? By living long we become satiated with all things besides, and this should naturally lead us to a satiety of life itself. Children we see have their particular diversions; and does youth, when past childhood, pursue or desire the same? Youth also has its peculiar exercises; and does full manhood require these as before? Or has old age the same inclinations that prevailed in more vigorous years? We ought then to conclude, that as there is a succession of pursuits and pleasures in the several stages of life, the one dying away, as the other advances and takes place; so in the same manner are those of old age to pass off in their turn. And when this satiety of life has fully ripened us, we are then quietly to lie down in death, as our last resting-place, where all anxiety ends, and cares and fears subsist no more.

But why should I not speak freely, and without reserve communicate my whole thoughts on this subject; of which as I am now drawing nearer to it, I seem to have a clearer sense and view? I must say then, I am clearly of opinion (Scipio and Lælius) that those great men, and my very good friends, your fathers, though dead to us, do now truly enjoy life, and such a life as alone can justly deserve the name. For while we are closed in these mortal frames, our bodies, we are bound down to a law of necessity, that obliges us with labor and pains to attend to the discharge of the several incumbent duties it requires. But our minds are of a heavenly original, descended from the blissful seats

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above, thrust down and immersed into these gross habitations of the earth, a situation altogether unsuitable to a divine and eternal nature. But the immortal gods, I believe, thought fit to throw our immortal minds into these human bodies, that the earth might be peopled with inhabitants proper to contemplate and admire the beauty and order of the heavens, and the whole creation ; that from this great exemplar they might form their conduct and regulate their lives, with the like unerring steadiness, as we see is invariably pursued, not only in those celestial motions, but through the whole process of nature. Nor have I been led into this belief from my own reasonings only, but by the authority of those great and exalted souls, the philosophers who have lived before us. For I have heard, that Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans, whom I may call our ¹⁰¹ countrymen ; for their habitation was in Italy, and thence they had the name of the Italic sect : I have heard, I say, that those philosophers laid it down as their fixed and grand principle, that our minds are an efflux or portion of the divine universal mind, that governs the whole. I have also seen and considered the ¹⁰² discourse that Socrates held with his friends, the last day of his life, concerning the immortality of the soul ; that great Socrates, who was judged by Apollo's oracle to be the wisest of men. But my conclusion is thus, and I am fully persuaded in myself, that a being so active, and so swift in thought, as to be confined by no distance of time or place ; that treasures up in memory such multitudes and varieties of things past, and from these also can form a judgment of what is to ensue ; that can comprehend within itself so many different sciences and arts ; strike out new inventions, and by fresh discoveries still add to what has been known ; such a being, I say, as is capable of all this, I am fully persuaded, can never be of a mortal nature. For, as it is ever in motion, yet is not put into it by any thing extrinsic to itself, but it is itself the spring of all its motion ; therefore, since it cannot depart or go out from itself, it must necessarily ever continue, and cannot end. Again, as it is in nature simple and un-

mixt without any composition of different or dissimilar parts, it cannot therefore be divided; and if not divided, it cannot be dissolved and die. This seems also to be an argument for the pre-existence of souls, and that they were endued with knowlege, before they entered on this stage; that children so readily apprehend things altogether new to them in this life, learn many difficult arts, and take the notions of things as if they were natural to them, and they were not now learning any thing new, but were only recollecting what they had known before. Thus Plato argues.

And in Xenophon,* Cyrus the elder, in his last discourse to his children, expresses himself thus: Do not, my dear children, imagine, that when I leave you, I shall be no more: for in the time I have been with you, you could never see my mind, but only knew by my actions, that it was lodged in this body. Be you therefore persuaded, that though you no longer see its lodging, yet it still as surely exists as before. For even the fame and honors of illustrious men, could not, as we see they do, continue after death, unless, their souls, by their existence, in some measure contributed to their duration. I never indeed could persuade myself, that souls confined in these mortal bodies, can be properly said to live, and that when they leave them, they die; or that they lose all sense when parted from these vehicles: but, on the contrary, when the mind is wholly freed from all corporeal mixture, and begins to be purified, and recover itself again; then, and then only, it becomes truly knowing and wise.—Further, when the body is dissolved by death, it is evident what becomes of all the several parts of it; for every thing we see returns to the elements of which it was formed: but the mind alone is never to be seen, neither while it is actuating the body, nor after it leaves it.—You may further observe, that nothing so much resembles death, as sleep: but the soul in sleep, above all other times, give proofs of its divine nature: for when free and disengaged from the immediate service of

* In his *Cyropædia*, book 8.

the body, it has frequently a foresight of things to come: from whence we may more clearly conceive what will be its state, when intirely freed from this bodily prison. Now, if the case be thus, you are then to consider and honor me, as a knowing spirit: but if my mind should also die away with my body, let it be your care, first to pay all reverence to the gods, who support and govern this mighty frame; and also, with a due and pious respect for my name, keep me always in your remembrance. Thus Cyrus on his death-bed.

And now, to mention some of our own people. No man, Scipio, shall ever prevail on me to believe, that either your father * Paulus, or two grandfathers Paulus and Africanus, or Africanus's father and his uncle, or divers other illustrious men, whom I need not name, would have undergone such vast fatigues, to achieve those glorious actions which are consecrated to the remembrance of all posterity, if they had not clearly discerned, that they themselves had an interest, and a kind of right and property in posterity, by their still continuing to exist, and to be sharers as well as witnesses of their fortune. Do you imagine, that even I (for as I am an old man, I must talk a little of myself;) I say, that I would have undertaken such hazardous attempts, and undergone such fatigues by day, such toils by night, at home and abroad, if I had supposed the glory of my actions must terminate with my life, and all my sense of it end with my being here? For if I had no further views, might it not have been more eligible to me, to have past away my days in quiet and ease, free from toils and care, and without labor or contention? But my spirit rousing in itself, I know not how, had futurity always so much in view, as if it were assured, that as soon as it quitted this life, it would then truly live, and not before. And were it not really so, that our souls are immortal, why is it that the greatest of men so ardently aspire to immortal glory? Or why are the wisest ever the most easy and con-

* Mentioned in notes 24, 8, and 97.

tent to die, and the weak and foolish the most unwilling? Is it not, think you, because the most knowing perceive they are going to change for a happier state, of which the more stupid and ignorant are incapable of being sensible? For my part, I have a passionate desire to see your fathers again, whom I loved and honored while here; and I not only long to meet those I knew and loved, but those illustrious souls also, of whom I have heard and read, and have with pleasure mentioned them in my writings. Nor would I now, on any terms, agree to be stopt in my passage to them; no, not on condition to be restored to the bloom and vigor of youth again: or should any heavenly power grant me the privilege of turning back, if I pleased, from this age to infancy, and to set out again from my cradle, I would absolutely refuse it; for as I have now got well nigh to the end of my race, I should be extremely unwilling to be called back, and obliged to start again. For, if we consider things aright, what is there in life to make us fond of it? or that we can on solid judgment pronounce truly valuable? Or who is there, or ever has been, who has not at some time or other met with trouble and anxiety sufficient to make him weary of it? This comfort however attends the thought, that the more the satiety grows upon us, the nearer we approach to its end. I am therefore far from being of the mind of some, and amongst them we have known of men of good learning, who lament and bewail the condition of human life, as if it were a state of real misery: for I am not at all uneasy that I came into, and have so far passed my course in this world; because I have so lived in it, that I have reason to believe, I have been of some use to it; and when the close comes, I shall quit life as I would an inn, and not as a real home. For nature appears to me to have ordained this station here for us, as a place of sojournment, a transitory abode only, and not as a fixed settlement or permanent habitation. But, Oh, the glorious day! when freed from this troublesome rout, this heap of confusion and corruption below, I shall repair to that divine assembly, that heavenly congregation of souls! and not only

to those I mentioned, but also to my dear Cato, than whom a more virtuous soul was never born, nor did ever any exceed him in piety and affection. His body I committed to the funeral pile, which he, alas ! ought to have lived to do by mine : yet his soul did not forsake me, but keeping me still in view, removed to those abodes, to which he knew, I was in a little time to follow. I bore the affliction indeed with the fortitude that became me, to outward view, though inwardly I severely felt the pangs of it ; but in this I have supported myself, that I knew our parting was to be neither far nor long, and that the time is but short till we shall happily meet again.

Now, these, my friends, are the means (since it was these you wanted to know) by which I make my old-age sit easy and light on me ; and thus I not only disarm it of every uneasiness, but render it even sweet and delightful. But if I should be mistaken in this belief, that our souls are immortal, I am however pleased and happy in my mistake ; nor while I live, shall it ever be in the power of man, to beat me out of an opinion, that yields me so solid a comfort, and so durable a satisfaction. And if, when dead, I should (as some minute philosophers imagine) be deprived of all further sense, I am safe at least in this, that those blades themselves will have no opportunity beyond the grave to laugh at me for my opinion. But whether immortal or not, or whatever is to be our future state ; as nature has set limits to all its other productions, it is certainly fit our frail bodies also should, at their proper season, be gathered, or drop into their grave. And as the whole course of life but too much resembles a farce, of which old age is the last act ; when we have enough of it, it is most prudent to retire, and not to make a fatigue of what we should endeavor to make only an entertainment. This is what I had to say of old age ; which I wish you also may live to attain, that you may from your own experience, witness the truth of the several things I have now delivered you in this conversation.

APPENDIX.

The numerals which commence the paragraphs, refer to the numerals in the text. The numbers which precede the paragraphs, refer to the pages of this volume, in which the matters referred are to noted.

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1 TITUS. Pomponius Atticus, to whom this discourse is addressed, was of an ancient family of Rome, of the equestrian order, the second in dignity amongst the Romans. Of all Cicero's friends he appears to have been the most intimate and the most esteemed: for of the thirty-six books now extant of Tully's epistles, there are no less than sixteen, composing a distinct tome, directed to Atticus alone. His character in life, as left us by his intimate friend Cornelius Nepos, may be justly accounted the most beautiful we have received from antiquity of either Greek or Roman. Nor does it appear to have been paralleled in any age: for though he lived in the times of the greatest factions and divisions in Rome, as those of Sylla, Marius and Cinna, Cæsar and Pompey, Brutus and Cassius, with Anthony, Lepidus, and Octavius (afterwards Augustus,) he conducted himself with such consummate prudence and integrity, that though carressed by all, he neither joined with, nor offended any of them. But being possessed of a vast estate, neither acquired on his part, nor improved by any lucrative measures whatsoever; for his patrimony was about the value of eight hundred thousand dollars; and by the will of a surly uncle, whom none besides could please, he received about four millions of dollars more, with many other legacies from his friends' and admirers: of this vast estate, I say, besides his annual expence on a genteel and hospitable, yet frugal table, he spent the greatest part in relieving the distressed of every party (as each had their turns, Octavius excepted) without any other distinction than that of their worth and wants; and without any conditions or expectation of retribution. In his youth, to avoid being engaged by his friends in the contentions with Sylla, he retired to Athens, where he spent most of his time in study, and the income of his estate in public and private benefactions;

and became so dear to the people there, that they almost adored him; yet he would never allow them to erect so much as one statue to his honor, though it was their constant practice to all such as deserved well of their state. From hence it was he took the name of Atticus (or Athenian, for so the word imports) here alluded to by Cicero. But his life may be read more at large in the English translation of the above author Cornelius Nepos. I shall therefore only add, that he was about two years older than Cicero, but survived him twelve years, dying in his 78th year, in the 722d after the building of Rome, and about 30 years before the birth of Our Saviour; Cicero being put to death by M. Antony's order, in his 64th year, and in the 710th of Rome. That his sister was married to Quintus Cicero, brother to the author; his daughter to the emperor Augustus's great friend and favorite M. Agrippa, whose daughter by her was the first and the beloved wife of Augustus's successor the emperor Tiberius; but he was obliged to part with her, to marry his father-in-law Augustus's daughter, the infamous Julia. I shall, in relation to both Cicero and Atticus, add a sentence of Seneca's, in his 21st epistle to Lucilius. "Cicero's epistles (says he) will not suffer Atticus's name to die. His son-in-law Agrippa, his grand-son-in-law Tiberius, or his grand-nephew, Drusus Cæsar, would have availed him nothing: amongst all those great names and affinities he would not have been remembered, had not Cicero grafted him into his own fame." Yet Atticus wrote some valuable books himself, but they are all lost.

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2 Ennius, born in Calabria, now part of the kingdom of Naples, under the consuls Q. Valerius and C. Mamilius, in the 515th year of Rome, as A. Gellius from Varro informs us; went to live in the island of Sardinia, to which Marcus Cato, the speaker in this tract, being sent prætor, and becoming acquainted with Ennius, he there began to learn Greek of him, and on his return brought him to Rome; which, Nepos says, was an act of greater importance than a triumph. He wrote the annals of Rome in verse, which,

though highly valued by the Romans, and often quoted by Cicero, are now, excepting some fragments, entirely lost. He is more particularly mentioned again in this discourse.

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3 Titus Quinctus Flaminus, who, when consul in the year of Rome 556, overcame Philip, the last king of that name, and the last but one of Macedon; after which, at the great solemnity of the Isthmian games that then ensued, and at which there was a general concourse from all the neighboring parts and countries, he by public proclamation restored to the several states of Greece their ancient liberties, after they had been deprived of them, and continued in subjection to others, but principally to the kings of Macedon, above 120 years. This conquest, with his other actions, added greatly to the former lustre of his family, but it received a severe blow from this Cato, the principal speaker here; who, when he was censor, by virtue of that office, degraded Titus's brother Lucius Flaminus, who had also been consul, and bore other high offices, from his place in the senate; which is mentioned further on in this discourse, as by Cato himself, and the whole story is there given more particularly. [See note 63.] His life may be read at large amongst those of Plutarch.

4 From the revolution effected in the state, by the usurpation of Julius Cæsar, who, without any other right or pretence to it, than that of the power of his army, the subjects as well as himself of the commonwealth, instead of obeying the senate's order to disband, he made war on his native country, pursued Pompey, who commanded the army of the senate, into Greece, and at Pharsalia in Thessaly entirely routed him; made himself, on his return to Rome, perpetual and absolute dictator, and became the first of the Roman emperors. For though about three years after, by the conspiracy of Brutus, Cassius, and others, in hopes of recovering their liberties, he was stabbed in the senate-house; yet his sister Julia's grandson Octavius, a youth then but of about eighteen years, whom he had by will made his heir, found means to get into the same seat, and clothe himself with the same power; and from him it wa

continued (though only for four successions in his own, or rather in his wife Livia's family, who all proved tyrants, and two of the four, Caligula and Nero, mere monsters of cruelty) till Rome itself became a prey to the Goths, and other northern nations. But on mentioning this first of the Roman emperors, it may not be amiss here to observe of him, that though he was a person of the sublimest genius, adorned with every accomplishment of nature or art, and not at all of a cruel disposition, but on the contrary of a temper truly clement and generous; yet by the iniquity of the times, he seemed to have been sent into the world for the destruction of mankind: for Pliny, after a most exalted character of his abilities [Nat. Hist. l. 7. c. 25] tells us, that he himself acknowledged he had in his wars destroyed the lives of 1,192,000 men, exclusive of these that fell in those horrid civil wars he engaged his country in; for which Lipsius, on mentioning this, [*De constantia*, lib. 2. c. 22] justly calls him, *Pestem perniciemque generis humani*—the pest and plague of human kind. And though the numbers of those that fell in their civil contentions are not mentioned, yet they may be guessed at, by comparing the two last census taken of the men of Rome, that are mentioned by Livy in the epitomes of his books still extant; for 'tis noted in that of his 98th book, in the 682d year of the city, that the number was no less than 450,000 men, but in the year 706, on Cæsar's return from his victory over Pompey, the number was reduced to 150,000; so that the city of Rome alone, and chiefly by these contentions, lost two full thirds of her people, and she still continued to lose by the wars after Cæsar's death, carried on by Octavius (afterwards Augustus) and Antony, against Brutus and Cassius, &c.

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5 In what year of his life Cicero wrote this excellent little tract, does not clearly appear. He was born in the 647th year of Rome; J. Cæsar made himself master of the empire after his return from Egypt in the 706th year; after which, Cicero wrote most of his philosophical discourses. From his preface to his second book *De divinatione*, we find, that this was composed after his *Academics*, his books

De finibus, his *Tusculan questions*, and those *De natura deorum*: and from the same and other hints we also learn, that it was wrote before those *De divinatione*, his *Lælius*, or *Of friendship*, his excellent *Offices*, and his book *De fato*; all which we find were wrote after Cæsar's death. [Vide his preface to *Lælius*, *De officiis*, lib. 2. and his preface to that *De fato*.] It is therefore probable he wrote this in the last year of Cæsar's life, who was murdered on the *Ides* (the 15th day) of *March*, *A. U.* 709, that is in Cicero's 63d year. He was himself murdered in his 64th year, by order of M. Antony, the next year after Cæsar's fall,

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6 Tithonus was said to be the son of Laomedon, king of Troy, of such admirable beauty, that, according to the fictions of the poets, Aurora the goddess of the morning, fell in love with him. And of her he obtained that he might live very long; which he did to that degree, that wearing gradually away, he shrunk at length into a grasshopper. The moral of which is plain, *i. e.* that Tithonus was very comely in his youth, an early riser, and regular in his life; that by these means he attained to a good old age, in which he still preserved his agility, but grew very thin, and became vastly altered from his former state, when in his bloom.

7 Marcus Portius Cato, of which name there were two persons very famous in the Roman history: and the lives of both are in Plutarch, an author now in the hands of most English readers of history. But of the eldest, who is the person intended here by Cicero, I shall add the following account from the great historian Livy. In b. 39. c. 40. speaking of the election of censors, in the 570th year of the city, for which there stood six candidates of the nobility, and as many of the commons, of whom Cato was one; (and he was perfectly *novus homo*, a new man; so they call those of obscure families who got offices in the state; but new as he was, he had been consul 11 years before, in the 36th of his age :) the historian, I say, having named the 12 candidates, proceeds thus: "But Marcus Portius Cato had vastly the

advantage of them all, as well of the patricians as the plebeians of the greatest families." [For there were illustrious ones of the latter as well as of the former.] "This man (says he) was master of such natural abilities, and of so much spirit, that wherever he had been born, he would have acquired honor. He was skilled in every art, both of public and private life, and equally in affairs of both city and country. Some have rose by their knowlege in the law, others by eloquence, and others by their military achievements: but he was so equally qualified for them all, that one would think him born to that alone, whatever it was, that he took in hand. As a soldier he was brave, and signalised his courage in many engagements; and when advanced to the highest posts, a no less consummate general. In peace, when consulted in matters of right, he shewed the highest skill; and in pleading a cause, no less eloquence. Nor did this appear during his life only, as in those whose talents in that way flourish and die with them; for his remain, and live consecrated to futurity in his writings of every kind; as his extant orations, as well in defence of himself, as both for and against others, fully shew: for he gave his adversaries work, both by his impeachments, and his vindications: and indeed he was rather too much engaged in contention: nor is it easy to say, whether the nobility bore harder on him, or he on the nobility: for his natural temper, it must be owned, was somewhat of the harshest, and his tongue of the freest. But then he had a soul impenetrable to all the allurements of pleasure; most rigidly honest and unblemished, above courting the favor of men, and no less contemning riches. For parsimony, and for patience in fatigues and in dangers; his constitution both of body and mind seemed firm as iron; and such as even old age, to which all things yield, could not break nor subdue: for in his 86th year he delivered a public oration in his own defence, which he also put in writing; and in his 90th he impeached Servius Galba before the commons." Thus wrote Livy of Cato, above a hundred years after his death. From which character we may observe Cicero made a

most proper choice of his speaker, and the following discourse will be found as justly to suit the character. Other particulars of his life will occur further on; [for some of which, see note 56, 71, 89, &c.] The word he alludes to for his name, is *Catus*, which signifies *circumspect, cautious, cunning*.—The other of the same name was his great grandson, by his son Marcus, and Tertia, Paulus Æmilius's daughter, both mentioned hereafter, called Cato, junior, or Uticensis, from the place of his death; who for his virtues gained a greater reputation, and became more famous, even than his ancestor; of whom (since his life, as I have said, is in Plutarch) I shall here only give this short character from Velleius Paterculus, an old Roman historian, who wrote about 75 years after his death; and in book 2. chap. 35, speaks thus of him: "He was the very image of virtue itself; in his disposition more like a god than a man; who never did a good thing that he might be seen to do it, but because he could not act otherwise; whose only rule in life was justice; untouched with any human vice, and ever in himself superior to every attack of fortune." I shall also further observe, that he is the principal hero of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, a poem never finished, but generally wrote with a true spirit of liberty, even under the tyranny of Nero; but it cost the author his life. In the 9th book of that poem, after a most beautiful character of that excellent great man, the poet concludes (according to the religion of that time, when Rome took upon it to people heaven with gods, as it now does, with saints to be prayed to) with those most remarkable lines:

*Ecce parens verus patriæ, dignissimus aris
Roma tuis, per quem nunquam jurare pudebit,
Et quem si steteris unquam ceruice solutâ
Tunc olim factura deum—*

Thus Englished by N. Rowe.

His country's father here, O Rome, behold,
Worthy thy temples, priests, and shrines of gold;
If e'er thou break thy lordly master's chain,
If liberty be e'er restor'd again,
Him thou shalt place in the divine abodes,
Swear by his holy name, and rank him with thy gods.

To avoid seeing the subversion of the liberties of Rome, he killed himself, in the 49th year of his age. Livy Epit. lib. 114.

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8 Scipio and Lælius. There were two pairs of illustrious Romans of these names, noted for their mutual friendship. The first flourished in the time of, and acted very great parts in the second Punic or Carthaginian war: for this Scipio was the man, to whom Rome not only owed its own deliverance and safety, but nearly all her advantages and conquests over the Carthaginians; who, after they had brought that city to the very brink of ruin, were afterwards obliged, and principally by the conduct of Scipio, to submit to hard conditions of peace; [see note 24 and 29.] for which he afterwards bore the name of Scipio Africanus, as the conqueror of Africa: and in all these actions Lælius was his almost inseparable companion. But the pair of the same names here intended by Cicero, were two generations younger. This Scipio was the real son of the great Paulus Æmilius, whose life is amongst those of Plutarch, [see note 24.] but was, after the manner of the Romans, adopted by the son of the first great Scipio Africanus; who, being himself but of a weakly constitution of body for a son to succeed him, chose one of that illustrious family of the Æmilii: hence laying down his paternal name, he, according to custom, took that of the family he was grafted into; and afterwards for his conquest and demolition of Carthage in the third Punic war [see note 29.] he also bore the name of Scipio Africanus; but to distinguish him from his grandfather, he was called Africanus, junior, and frequently from his own father's name, Scipio Æmilianus. He had also the title Numantinus given him, from his reduction, or more properly, the utter destruction, of the famous (the glorious) city of Numantia in Spain; in which, as brave a people as ever were known on earth, and who as little deserved it, were utterly destroyed, men, women, and children; not in open battle, nor by taking the place by force: for the Romans durst not engage them; but by hemming them in with greater numbers, and utterly starving them. Yet this Sci-

pio was in himself a most excellent person, and in all other respects, save in these two inhuman achievements, the destruction of Carthage and of Numantia, which were done in obedience to the state, and were in those times accounted glorious; he appears to have deserved the character given him by the before-mentioned Paterculus, l. 1. c. 12, which is this: "A man who equalled the virtues of his grandfather Scipio, and of his own father Paulus Æmilius; who, for every accomplishment, either for the sword or gown [war or peace] for his natural abilities, and his vast improvements of these, was undoubtedly the most eminent of his age; who, in the whole course of his life, never did, spoke, or thought a thing that was not worthy of praise." But having opposed the party of that turbulent tribune Caius Gracchus, brother to his wife Sempronia, and grandson to the first great Scipio Africanus before-mentioned, by his admired daughter Cornelia, and consequently this Scipio's own first cousin, as was shewn before by his adoption; after he had been waited on home in full health by the principal senators, he was the next morning found dead in his bed, strangled as some thought, or, as others, poisoned, and not without his wife's privity: nor was his death further inquired into; such was the confusion of the time. Thus ended that very great man, in the 56th year of his age, and in the 625th of the city. *Vell. Paterc. lib. 2. c. 4. & Liv. lib. 59. in Arg. & Freinsheim Suppl.* But notwithstanding all the opportunities he had of enriching himself, we find by Aurelius Victor, that he died but poor, as Cato also did, [see note 89,] which is a further proof of the integrity of both. Plutarch wrote the lives of both these Scipio's, but they are both lost.

His friend Lælius, was Caius Lælius, surnamed Sapiens, the wise, who was consul the 614th year of the city. Cicero taking occasion from the known friendship between him and Scipio, makes him the chief speaker (as Cato is here) in that other fine discourse of his, which bears his name Lælius, on the subject of Friendship, wrote afterwards and directed to the same T. P. Atticus, with this.

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9 Salinator was consul in the 566th year, Albinus in the 568th, but Cato in the 559th year of the city. See note 17.

10 One of Seriphos, a small barren island in the Ægean sea.

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11 Quintus Fabius Maximus, who, after the Romans had in several successive battles been defeated at the rivers Ticinus and Trebia, and the Thrasymene lake, by Annibal, was in the 537th year of Rome, appointed dictator or absolute commander, an office that legally was to continue but six months, and for that time abrogated the power of the consul and of all other magistrates, excepting that of the tribunes of the people, and of the lower ones, necessary for administering justice and keeping the peace; but under him his master of horse had also a considerable power. In which time he kept Annibal at a bay; constantly declining, however provoked, to engage with him: though by the rashness of Minucius, his master of horse, invested with too much power by the people, all had like to be lost again; and after he laid down his office, the terrible battle of Cannæ was fought, wherein 80 senators and 45,000 of the Roman army fell. Two years after this, Fabius was the fourth time consul, and after six years more, the fifth, *An. Urb. 545.*

12 In the 521st year of Rome, 233 years before Christ, therefore Cato was born in the 520th.

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13 Twenty years of age.—A quæstor in the city was a treasurer; in the army he took an account of, and received what was gained to the public from the enemy; kept lists of the army, and took accounts of the slain on both sides. The Ædile's business was to look after all buildings, public and private, weights and measures, to order the public games, &c. Prætors were the chief city magistrates in Rome, and abroad were governors in civil affairs.

14. At thirty years.

15. When a law was proposed, it was read publicly to the people, and then fixed up for three nundinæ, or twenty-seven days: after which, the people being met, some per-

son of authority (for it was not allowed to all) who approved of the law, besides the proposer, recommended it to the people, in a public speech. This was called, *suadere legem*, and the speaker, *suasor legis*, as here this Fabius did for the law here mentioned, the year before he died, which was in the 551st of Rome, having (as *Liv. l. 30. c. 26.* hints, but gives it not as certain) borne the office of augur for sixty-two years.

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16 A law proposed by Marcus Cincius, the tribune, that those who pleaded causes, should take no fees nor rewards.

17 Tarentum or Tarentus, a great city, situate at the head of the great bay of that name, now Taranto, was surrendered to the consul Papirius, in the year of Rome 482, two hundred and seventy-two years before Christ, after Pyrrhus had left it, but with a garrison of Epirots in it; of whom the city being tired, submitted to the Romans; by whom, for the abusive treatment of their ambassadors about nine years before, they were then besieged. In the second punic war, in the 542d year of Rome, some conspirators in the city, incensed at their hostages being put to death in Rome, for attempting to make their escape, betrayed it to Annibal: which was very much owing to the negligence of Salinator, then governor of it. Livy, b. 25. tells the story particularly, without mentioning or blaming the governor, whom he does not name; sparing him probably in regard to his family: but Polybius, in the *excerpta* we have of his 8th book, is much more particular, and says he was drunk the evening of the night it was taken. For this reason it is, probably, and because Spurious Albinus had gained so ill a character for his conduct in the army, that Cicero makes Cato mention these two particularly, in page 254 of this discourse, to their disadvantage. The words which Cato here says he heard Salinator himself utter, Plutarch in Cato's life, says, were spoken in the senate; he doubtless meant, that if he had not defended the castle (which he did bravely enough) Fabius could not have recovered the town. But that does not at all appear: it was regained much as it was

lost, *viz.* by treachery, but of a meaner sort; for it was betrayed by its governor's love of a young woman in the city, that had a brother in the Roman army, who under Fabius laid the plot. Annibal was the contriver of the first delivery, and Fabius of the second; upon the news of which Annibal only dropt this expression. "Well (said he) I see the Romans have also their Annibals." See Livy, b. 27. and Plutarch in the life of Fabius.

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18 The second decad of Livy being lost, this I think is no where else mentioned.

19 The Romans were so exceedingly superstitious, that they would undertake nothing of moment without some previous divination. For this they had *augurs*, *auspices*, and *aruspices* appointed. The *augurs* were the chief, of whom there was a college, consisting at first, by Romulus's institution, of only three, but afterwards gradually increased to nine, and under the emperors, to fifteen. Their business was to pronounce good or ill luck from the flight or chirping or noise of birds; the feeding of chickens kept for that purpose, &c. For most gross instances of this superstition of theirs, see Plutarch in the life of Marcellus, near the beginning.

20 The dead bodies of the Romans were commonly burnt in a funeral pile, at which the nearest friend of the deceased, if of note, made a funeral oration, which was generally a panegyric on the deceased and his family.

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21 Isocrates was contemporary with Socrates, Plato, &c. at Athens: he taught rhetoric or oratory in a private school, and many of the greatest men of the age were his scholars. This Panathenaic is one of his orations, which we have yet extant; it is by much the longest of them all; the subject is, the commendation of his countrymen the Athenians, and to prove their merit, in respect to the rest of Greece, was greater than that of the Lacedemonians: towards the end of it he says, he then wanted but three years of a hundred; of which it is strange, that neither his commentator Wolfius

nor Fabricius have taken any notice, though they both quote this passage of Cicero for his age. (See note 48d towards the end.) Philostratus says, he died of grief, on hearing the Athenians had lost the battle of Chæronea, Which was fought against Philip of Macedon, Olympiad. 110. 3. the 415th year of Rome.) Gorgias was of Leontium in Sicily; he went about the cities of Greece, teaching the young men oratory, and the philosophy of that time, for very high pay. He is said to have been the first who offered to speak extempore on any subject that should be proposed to him. He was much honored; though Plato, in a dialogue that bears his name, exposes him for his presumption. His statue was erected of gold in the Pythian temple: *Pliny, lib. 33. c. 4.* says by himself, and at his own charge; but *Philostratus, Cicero, de Orat. lib. 3.* and others, say it was done by the public. Pliny adds that it was erected in the 70th Olympiad, *i. e.* about the 254th year of Rome.

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22 By passages in Cicero, and others of the ancients, we find strength of sides as well as voice, was absolutely required in an orator; for they very properly used the word sides, as we do lungs: I say, very properly, because the lungs have in themselves no manner of force; but their whole motion depends on the muscles of the sides and breast.

23 The Voconian law was, that no woman should enjoy by will, more than one fourth part of an estate of a full rate or sense, that is, of 100,000 sesterces, which is about 4500 dollars.

24 Lucius Paulus Æmilius had by his first wife Papiria, two sons and two daughters mentioned in history; and putting her away (without assigning any other reason for it, than Julius Cæsar on the like occasion did afterwards, by holding out his new shoe, and asking if it was not handsome, but did they know where it pinched him?) he married a second; he also gave away these two sons, to be adopted (after the Roman manner) into other families: the younger was adopted by Scipio, the son of the great

Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, before mentioned, and is the person here spoken to. (See note 8.) The other son of Paulus was adopted into the family of Fabius Maximus, and became also famous: one of the daughters, named Tertia, was married to Cato's son Marcus here mentioned (see note 89) who died a few years before; the other daughter was married to one of the Tubero's, of a very poor, but virtuous family. [See Plutarch in Paulus Æmilius.] He lost two sons just at the time of his triumph over Perseus, king of Macedon; both of them by his second marriage, the one of fourteen years, five days before the triumph, and the other of twelve years, within three days after it; so that he had none left to succeed him in name, or in his own family. He was in all things a great man in himself, but unhappily the minister of the senate's severity, in executing their commands upon the Epirots, for joining with Perseus, after they had submitted to Rome. For his army in one day plundered seventy of their towns, and took 150,000 captives, whom they sold for slaves; and from the prey each horseman had (as Livy says, *lib. 45. c. 34*) four hundred *dinarii*, about 64 dollars and each footman half as much. It is therefore strange that Plutarch (in *Paul. Æmil.*) should say, they had but eleven *dinarii*, or about one dollar and three quarters each. But into the public treasury he brought 185,000 lb. weight of silver, and 13,860 pound of gold, all carried in baskets before him, with other vast riches besides, in his triumph, which was exceedingly splendid.

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25 Caius Fabricius Luscinus, with the others here named, were all famous in the time of the war with Pyrrhus; the time when Rome seemed to be at its height of glory for virtue; though they were much more so afterwards for conquest and empire. Fabricius was consul twice, viz. in the 472d, and 476th years of Rome, and he triumphed twice; Pyrrhus landing with forces in Italy to assist the Tarentines against the Romans, gained the first battle against the consul Albinus; but being convinced, in that engagement, of the Roman bravery, he was rather de-

sirous, upon his victory, to make an honorable peace for himself, and a safe one for his allies of Italy, than to prosecute the war. Fabricius being sent to redeem the Roman captives, was treated with the utmost civility by Pyrrhus, who pressed him (being known to be very poor) to accept of a present of gold, as a token of friendship only? but he obstinately refused it: the next day he endeavored to terrify him with an elephant, but in vain. Pyrrhus gave 200 captives their freedom without redemption; to the rest (about 1600) he gave liberty to go home to keep their saturnalia (festivals kept in December, like the modern Christmas) on Fabricius's word that they should return, if peace were not made, as they were not redeemed; which they did punctually at the day. When censor, he was very severe, and turned Rufinus (a man of great merit, who had been twice consul and dictator, and had triumphed) out of the senate; for no other crime, than that he had ten pounds of silver-plate in his house; a piece (as was then judged) of intolerable luxury; on which *Val. Max. (lib. 2. c. 9.)* is pleasant: and this is mentioned in Livy's *Epit. lib. 14.* Yet Fabricius had a small silver salt, and a little silver cup with a horn foot to it, which he had received of his ancestors, and kept for his libations or sacrifices. On his return from Pyrrhus, he was first made lieutenant to the consuls, and the next year consul; being then general, Pyrrhus's physician (whom Plutarch calls Timochares, others Nicias,) coming into the Roman camp, offered to Fabricius for a suitable reward to poison Pyrrhus; which he heard with detestation, and (as Plutarch in Pyrrhus's life, relates it) revealed it directly to Pyrrhus, in a very handsome letter, which he gives there; but by others it is told variously, though all agree on the substance of the story.

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26 Manius Curius Dentatus was thrice consul. In the *fasti* he is marked as if he had been four times, but it does not appear he was more than thrice. His first consulate was in the 464th year of Rome, and he then triumphed twice in the same year, viz. over the Samnites and the Sabines.

The second time [marked the 3d] was in the year 479, fifteen years after the first; he then fought with, and intirely routed Pyrrhus, after his return from Sicily to Italy; upon which Pyrrhus abandoned his new allies quitted Italy, and sailed to his own country Epirus, leaving only a garrison in Tarentum; and Curius had a triumph for his victory. Curius was made consul again the next year, to oppose Pyrrhus, in case he should return, as he pretended to the Tarentines. He had most of the glory of this war. But he was no less famous for his great modesty, and contented poverty; of which an instance is given in this discourse. His farm, on which he lived and wholly depended, consisted only of seven Roman *jugera*, or about four English acres and a half, as others in that neighborhood then did; and being offered more by the senate, he refused it, saying (as Pliny, *lib. 18. c. 3.* has it) that he was a dangerous citizen [*perniciosus civis*] whom seven *jugera* could not suffice; for he adds, that was the quantity assigned to the commons, after the expulsion of the kings.

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27 Titus Coruncanius was consul in the 474th year of Rome, the first year that Pyrrhus attacked and beat the Romans; but he was not in the battle himself, but at the head of another army waring with the Tuscans, whom he vanquished, and had a triumph for it.

28 Appius Claudius Cæcus was consul in the 446th year of Rome, and again in the 457th. In the 473d year he was carried to the senate in a chair on that occasion, having, because of his blindness, left it for many years. His speech is in Plutarch. In the life of Pyrrhus he is mentioned again.

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29 Carthage (it is said) was built by Dido from Tyre, about 70 years before Rome. Both these cities increasing vastly in strength and power, became jealous of each other. Their first war began in the 490th year of Rome, 264 before Christ, and continued 23 years: the Carthaginians being worsted in this long and bloody war, were on the peace obliged to pay the Romans a yearly tribute of 1200 talents

(about 1,125,000 dollars) and to give up all their claim to the islands between Italy and Africa, as Sicily, Sardinia, &c. Tired with this tribute, twenty-four years after the peace, at the instances of Annibal, a second war was commenced, in which that general led an army of 100,000 foot and horse, from Spain through Gaul into Italy; and gaining many great battles, and over-running the whole country, had nearly put an end to Rome. In Spain also the two Scipio's, endeavoring to prevent Asdrubal from marching to join Annibal in Italy, were with their armies cut to pieces, [see note 97.] after which none caring to venture thither, Publius Cornelius Scipio, (mentioned before in note 7), son of Publius one of those Scipio's, and nephew to the other, being then but twenty-four years of age, offered himself; and transporting some few forces thither, with the few scattered remains of the Romans, which he collected, he had in five years time such success, that he not only entirely defeated Asdrubal, but expelled all the Carthaginians from Spain: he then proposed to transport the army into Africa, to draw Annibal out of Italy; but the senate, thinking the attempt too desperate, would not furnish him either with men or money for the expedition: upon which, borrowing money on his private credit, and persuading many who admired his virtues, to accompany him, he made up a small army of volunteers, sailed over to Africa, there gained over to the Roman interest Masinissa, a king in Africa, who continued faithful to the Romans above 60 years; and had such vast success, that Annibal with his forces was obliged to quit Italy, and hasten home to save his own country; but there he was also entirely defeated. The Carthaginians, as they had begun before this battle to sue for peace, on the loss of it submitted to the hard terms the senate of Rome imposed on them, in the seventeenth year after this second war began. But the city flourishing in trade, and still growing in wealth and power, gave the people of Rome perpetual apprehensions, lest some turn of fortune might enable them to be even with Rome again: amongst whom this Cato was the principal; but he was opposed in his endeavors, to bring the

senate to a resolution to destroy the place, by Scipio Nasica, and many others; who looked farther before them, and seemed to foresee, that whenever all danger from that rival power should be entirely removed, and Rome should have none capable of giving them any further jealousy or fear, all discipline would be lost, vice and luxury would prevail, and, as it truly proved, introduce such seditions, as would at length utterly sink and ruin their whole liberties. However 53 years after the last peace, in the 605th year of the city, a third war was declared against Carthage, on pretence of their disturbing that near ally and good friend of Rome, Masinissa. The Carthaginians made the humblest submissions to avert it; they delivered three hundred hostages, and all their arms to obtain peace: after which they received the terms from the senate: one of which being that Carthage itself should be demolished and rased to the ground, and that they should not build again within less than ten miles of the sea; the people, enraged at this, resolved rather all to lose their lives, and die in their native place. With the deepest indignation, therefore, and in a fury, they set to make themselves new arms: they cast up new works; built ships, and gave the Romans their hands full for three years. But this Scipio, having in the second year of it been sent commander against them, took and destroyed the place, the fourth year after the war began, which was about five years after this is supposed to have been spoke to Scipio.

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30 Cneius Nævius, one of the first dramatic writers of Rome, bore arms in the first Punic war, and exhibited his first piece in the 519th year of the city *A. Gell. lib. 17. c. 21.*

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31 Themistocles, the brave Athenian general, who in the first of the 75th Olympiad, defeated Xerxes's vast fleet at Salamis, 480 years before Christ. Nine years after which, the Athenians banished him. One offering to teach him the art of memory, he said, he would rather he should teach him that of forgetting. His life is among those of Plutarch.

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32 Sophocles of Athens, a famous tragic poet, is allowed by all to have lived to a great age, but authors do not agree in the length of it. Some say, he died at 83; but I think, without good grounds. The author of his life, prefixed in Greek to the *scholia* on him, says he was born the 2d year of the 71st Olympiad [the 495th year before Christ] 15 years before the birth of Euripides, whom he also survived (he says) six years. That Euripides lived seventy-five years, is particularly proved by J. Barnes in his life. By which account Sophocles must have lived ninety-six years. This story is also in Lucian, in his *Macrobii*, or long livers, who says, Sophocles was choaked with a grape stone, at the age of ninety five years; that the judges admired the work, and condemned his son Jophon (who was also a tragic writer) of madness. Sophocles is said to have wrote one hundred and twenty three tragedies, of which we yet have most of the names; but no more than seven of the pieces themselves left, amongst which, this called Oedipus Coloneus, is still extant.

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33 Designing in these notes to give the ages of all the long-lived persons here mentioned by Cicero, as far as they can be found in the ancient writings now extant, or in others that I have; I must observe, that it is impossible to make so much as a rational conjecture of the age of him he first names after Sophocles, viz. Hesiod; nor (I dare venture to say) did Cicero himself know any thing certain of it, further than that, by what Hesiod says of himself, in his piece called Works and Days, it appears he was an old man. Some have believed he lived before Homer; many that they were contemporaries; and others, that Hesiod was considerably younger; amongst whom was Cicero himself, as he shews further on in this piece; or probably Cato might have wrote so in his *Origines*. Varro, a great antiquary of Rome, contemporary with Cicero, fixed Homer's age at about one hundred and sixty years after the taking of Troy. Eusebius and Tatian reckon up many other different opi-

nions. H. Dodwell, the late English antiquary, a man of vast industry and great penetration in these studies, brings it about three hundred and fifty years lower, or to the 30th Olympiad, that is about six hundred and sixty years before Christ.

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34 Simonides of the island Ceos, a famous poet, who wrote much; but nothing of his is now extant, except some epigrams in the Anthologia, and a few fragments. Plato calls him a divine man. This is he who answered Hiero the elder of Syracuse, inquiring of him what God was, in the well known manner, mentioned by Cicero, *de Nat. Deorum*, lib. 1. that is, first taking one day to consider of it, he then took two, and then four, still doubling the time; for which he gave this reason, that the more he thought of it, the more time he wanted. He was born in the fifty-fifth, and died in the seventy-eighth Olympiad, aged about ninety years.

35 Stesichorus of Sicily, a poet much older than Simonides, was born in the thirty-fifth Olympiad, about six hundred years before Christ; he was contemporary with Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum: divers of whose epistles or of those now extant, called the epistles of Phalaris, are directed to him, menacing him highly for the opposition he truly made to him; though those epistles themselves are judged not to be genuine. Suidas says, Stesichorus wrote twenty-six books of poems, in the Doric dialect: but nothing of his is extant. Lucian says, he died aged eighty-six years.

36 None doubt Homer lived to a good age; but none can pretend to say what that was. Herodotus has left a small piece, called Homer's life, in which he is as particular in what the people of the several towns and places where Homer (as he says) had been, as if it had not been fifty years since he was there; and yet he says his birth was six hundred and twenty-two years before Xerxes passed the Hellespont into Greece, which was in the seventy-fourth Olympiad; and from hence probably Varro's computation which is

the same with this, was taken : he also gives a particular account of the manner of his death, [as he pretends] but says not a word at what age.

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37 Pythagoras was of the island of Samos ; but some believed, though born there, he was of Phœnician extraction. Authors also very much differ about the time of his birth, and particularly three late great ones of Great Britain, *viz.* Bishop Lloyd, Dr. Bently, and H. Dodwell. It is however a settled point amongst them, that he was not born before the last year of the forty-third Olympiad, nor after the last year of the fifty-second ; that is, that he was born between the six hundred and fourth and the five hundred and sixty-eighth years before Christ. From Samos he went over to Phœnicia ; thence into Egypt, where he conversed much with their priests ; thence he went into Chaldea, and to Babylon, where some think he might have seen the prophet Daniel. After about twenty-two years spent in these travels, he returned to Samos, where finding the government usurped by Solyson, a tyrant, he went to Lucania in Italy, where he was highly esteemed ; being, by those of Metapontum, accounted a god. He had many followers ; but not admitting all that came to him, he particularly disgusted one Cylon of Croton, a young man of great wealth and power, to that degree, that by a formal conspiracy, all his scholars were barbarously murdered, except two, of whom Lysis was one. Porphyry wrote his life, of which we have a large fragment ; Jamblichus more fully ; both in Greek, which we also have. It is also in Diogenes Lærtius, and in Stanley's lives of the Philosophers, with a particular account of his doctrine. M. Dacier has written it more elegantly, prefixed to his translation of the golden verses, and of Hierocles's excellent commentaries upon them ; all now translated into English. Pythagoras's doctrine was certainly excellent ; it rendered all those who adhered to it, highly virtuous, and most useful men : but this ought to be remembered, that though many have pretended to give some account of it, yet we have nothing of it truly certain ;

for neither himself nor his followers, would ever publish any thing: only there are some few epistles of theirs, that are accounted genuine; but chiefly on moral duties. And the golden verses, so called truly, shew both what these and the men themselves were. But many things delivered by others, as the opinion of that sect, are to be suspected for fabulous: and it is to be doubted whether any sect was ever more belied and abused. Pythagoras is said by Jerome [that is, Eusebius] to have died in the seventieth Olympiad, at the age of ninety-five, or, as others say, seventy-five; so it is in Eusebius's Greek text, as published by Scaliger, page 166. Jerome in his version gives only the Olympiad not his age. Diog. Laertius quotes Herac- lides, giving him eighty; but others he says, allowed him ninety years; and the great Is. Casaubon on the place, thinks it ought to be ninety-nine, because Tzetzes, who generally copies from Laertius, has it so. An anonymous writer of his life, of which we have an account in Photius, Cod. 259, gives him one hundred and four years; and a medical author, cited by Managius on Laertius, allows him one hundred and seventeen years: so that there are no less than forty-two years difference between the lowest and highest.

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38 Democritus of Abdera, a city in Thrace, has been accounted, by many, the author of the atomical philosophy, on which Epicurus afterwards built: but it is a mistake; for, as Dr. Cudworth, Vossius, and others shew, it was much more ancient; and Cicero, *de Nat. Deor. lib. 1.* mentions Leucippus as prior to him in that doctrine. He was contemporary with Socrates and Plato, but kept himself a stranger to Athens; having, as some say, never seen it. He seems to have seen further into nature, than any other philosopher of his age; but all his own writings are lost, save some citations in Stobæus, with some few others. But divers things are extant under his name, of which none are genuine; as of Chemistry, Charms, &c. Fabricius has also, in his *Biblioth. Gr. Vol. 4*, published a fragment upon Sym-

pathy and Antipathy in Greek, said to be lately discovered in a library in Italy, as a genuine piece of Democritus's ; but, in my opinion, it not only discovers itself by its silliness, but by the words, *Μέγιστος ἀνδραγαθός*, *O mighty Emperor*, which occur about the midst of it : it therefore seems rather to have been wrote under some of the Roman emperors much later ; unless it was addressed to the king of Persia, which is not altogether improbable ; for Thrace submitted to those monarchs, and Democritus's father entertained Xerxes himself when there : but further, it is wrote in the common, and not in the Ionic dialect, as all others of Democritus's writings were. And of the same kind we have divers little pieces under the same name, in the collection of Greek Geoponics, or husbandry, which were never wrote by this Democritus, though some perhaps might by another of the name. He was so intent on discoveries in nature, that he said he would prefer one to the crown of Persia. He travelled into Egypt, and over many parts of Asia, in quest of knowlege ; and continued very much abroad, till he was eighty years old : then retiring and confining himself much, he applied himself to the dissection of animals, and to consider the minute parts of their dead bodies. The city of Abdera hereupon thinking him mad, and having a great value for him, sent unknown to him, an embassy to the great physician Hippocrates, to come to cure him. He came at their call, though it was no very small voyage ; and after some discourse with the Democritus, declared to the people, that he was the only man he found truly in his senses in the place. There is extant a long and pleasant letter of Hippocrates amongst his works, giving a particular narrative of the whole affair ; though some of late, and others formerly, suspected whether it be genuine. Democritus thought all the cares of life folly, and therefore always laughed at them. Plato had such an abhorrence of his corpuscular philosophy, though it is now allowed on all hands to be the only true, that he has never so much as once mentioned him in his writings. Laertius and Lucian agree, that he lived to the age of one hundred and four years, and

Censorinus says, he lived to near the age of Gorgias, which was noted before to be one hundred and eight or one hundred and seven. Democritus used to say, *to advise well, to speak well, and to act well, were the three great points men should study.*

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39 Plato's character is so well known, that much need not be said of him. Dacier has lately written his life, and prefixed it to his French version of the select dialogues, published in two volumes, since done into English. I shall briefly observe, that he was the son of Aristo, born at Athens, the third year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, four hundred and thirty years before Christ. He applied himself in his youth to the genteeler exercises, as athletics, painting, music, and poetry; in which last we have some small things of his that are good. He also served in the wars, at twenty years of age; but quitting all these, on observing the solid wisdom of Socrates, he gave himself intirely up to him. *Ælian (Var. Hist. lib. 3. 27.)* says, that the night before Plato's father came to recommend his son to Socrates's care, he (Socrates) dreamed, that a young swan flew from the altar in the academy, dedicated to Cupid, into his bosom, and from thence flew up to the heavens, singing so sweetly, as to charm both men and gods. He travelled into Egypt, and then to Italy, to see Archytas the Pythagorean, as is mentioned in this piece of Cato, and to converse with others of that sect. He was thrice in Sicily, chiefly on Dion's account. It is agreed he died in the eighty-first or eighty-second year of his age. The Christian fathers admired him much. *Vid. Aug. de Civ. Dei lib. 8. c. 4. & seq.*

40 Socrates his character is also well known. M. Charpentier, one of the first members of the French academy, has excellently written his life; which is in English prefixed to Byshe's translation of Xenophon's four books of the Memorable Things of Socrates, with his fifth of Oeconomics. He was born the third year of the seventy-seventh Olym-

plad, and condemned and put to death the first of the ninety-fifth Olympiad, aged seventy years. He never wrote any thing that was published ; but Plato made him one of the interlocutors in most of his dialogues.

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41 Zeno was of Cittium, in the island of Cyprus. He followed merchandise in his youth, and coming to Athens with a cargo of purple and other Phœnician goods, he lost his ship and all on board, but saved himself. Going on shore, he went into a bookseller's shop, where hearing the man reading some pieces of Xenophon, he asked whether and where any such men were then to be found ; (Crates happening at that time to be passing the shop) Yes, says the man, there goes one of them, pointing to Crates : Zeno immediately followed and accosted him, and from that day became his disciple. He plied his studies exceeding close, gained great repute, and was the founder of the sect of Stoics, so called from Stoa, a portico in which their lectures were held. He wrote many books, but they are all lost. He said, the best voyage he had ever made, was that in which he had lost all. If he died (as Eusebius says, *Gr. Chron.* p. 182) the first of the one hundred and twenty-ninth Olympiad, he must have been born the third of the one hundred and ninth, *i. e.* three hundred and forty-two years before Christ ; for he lived ninety-eight years, as both Laertius and Lucian say, in perfect health ; and then stumbling as he went out of the door of his school, in the words of a Greek verse he said aloud, *Why do you call, I come :* upon which he went home, abstained from food, and died ; and was succeeded in the school by the following

42 Cleanthes of Assus in Lysia in Asia Minor, came to Athens exceeding poor, having only four drachmas (about half a dollar) in his pocket : there hearing Zeno discourse, he applied himself wholly to him. To maintain himself, having attended in the school all the day, he wrought at nights in drawing water for the gardens, and in grinding or bolting for the baker ; and keeping himself

heartly and in good case, while he was not observed to do any thing in the day, and was known to have no estate, he was called on by the Areopagus (a great court at Athens) to render them (according to an excellent law of theirs) an account how he lived ; which he did by calling the gardener and baker, for whom he wrought, to witness for him. The court was so pleased with this, that they ordered him ten minæ (about 156 dollars) of the public money to be given him, which his master Zeno persuaded him not to accept. But Antigonus, king of Macedon, afterwards gave him much more. He used to pick up dry shoulder blade bones of oxen, to take down his master's lectures on, for want of paper, or of the other materials then in use for writing. He succeeded Zeno in his school, and grew into very high esteem with the Athenians. He lived to the age of ninety-nine years ; then having a swelling rise on his lip, and being ordered by the physicians to fast two days, in order to abate the humor ; having done so, he began to consider, what further business he had in life ; and thereupon resolved, since he had begun to fast, he would eat no more at all ; but receiving that day a letter from a distant friend, requesting a piece of service of him, eat enough to enable him to go abroad and do that business ; which, having dispatched, he returned, wholly abstained from food, and died.

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43 Diogenes, called the Babylonian, is mentioned by Cicero in divers places of his works. He was a hearer of Chrysippus, who succeeded Cleanthes before mentioned, and the next in that school. The succession was thus :

The Old or First Academies,

1. Plato, 2. Speusippus, 3. Xenocrates, 4. Polemo, 5. Crates and Crantor, carried on the academic school.

Stoics.

Under Crates sprung, 6. Zeno, 7. Cleanthes, 8. Chrysippus, 9. Diogenes.

This Diogenes, together with Carneades, the academic (of the second school) and Critolaus the peripatetic,

were sent jointly by the city of Athens (in the five hundred and ninety-ninth year of Rome, or one hundred and fifty-five years before Christ) to the senate to beg off a fine of five hundred talents (468,753 dollars) laid on them, upon the complaint of the Oropians, or at least a mitigation of it. The youth of Rome hearing them, especially Carneades speak, were so taken with their eloquence, that they applied themselves with the utmost eagerness to the study of it. Cato observing this, though he must then have learned Greek himself, being about eighty years of age, and apprehending the consequence, if the youth declining the severer institutions of their ancestors, should run into the novelties, and study the arts of Greece, prevailed with the senate to send those gentlemen away; which they did, with a favorable answer, remitting, as some say, four-fifths of the fine. [See Plutarch in Cato, and *Suppl. Livii, lib. 47. 25.*] I find this Diogenes' age mentioned by none but Lucian, who says he died at eighty-nine years. *Aul. Gellius, lib. 7. 14. Macrobius Sat. lib. 1. 5. Seneca de Ira, lib. 3.* all mentioned these three.

In closing this account of old men, I shall add, that it is strange Cicero should omit naming a person he so much admired, as Theophrastus; who says, in the preface of his Characters of Vices, that he wrote them in the ninety-ninth year of his age: and Jerome, in *Epist. 2. ad. Nepotianum*, says, he lived to one hundred and seven years, and then complained he must die just as he began to be wise. I shall wind up this whole account of long-livers, by observing, that notwithstanding it has been said of divers of them, that though they had wrote much, all their books were now lost; yet there are still extant three Greek pieces, all written by persons living in the same city (Athens) and in the same age, each of whose authors was, at the time of writing them, above ninety years old, *viz.* the two last near a hundred; these are Isocrates's Panathenaicus, and Sophocles's tragedy of Oedipus Coloneus, both mentioned before, and that which I just now noted, Theophrastus's Characters, translated repeatedly into most, if not all, the politer Eu-

ropean languages. And the reason why nothing like this has appeared in these latter ages, may deserve to be inquired into, and considered. But the observation I thought proper for this place.

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44 Statius Cæcilius, a poet of Rome, but an Insubrian, or of Cisalpine Gaul by birth, was contemporary with Ennius, and died the next year after him. Cicero, or Cato, calls him here by both names, but both note the same man. *Vossius de poetis Lat.* The quotations being from comedy, are not truly in verse, and therefore not in rhyme here.

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45 Solon, one of those seven, called the wise men of Greece, was archon or prætor of Athens; the third of the forty-sixth Olympiad, five hundred and ninety years before Christ; and having done many great services for that republic (though he was himself a native of Salamis, an island not far from Athens) the people would have given him the absolute command, but he refused it. [*Diog. Laert.*] At Athens, as formerly at Rome, debtors who could not pay, were made servants or slaves to the creditors; Solon having seven talents [6562 dollars] due to him, remitted it, and caused all the citizens in the same manner to remit their debts. The city at that time had only Draco's laws, said (because of their severity) to be written in blood: these he abolished, and gave the people new ones, many of which were excellent. He foretold Pisistratus's usurpation, but was not believed: when that man got possession of the government, Solon went to Cræsus, king of Lydia: his conversation with whom is well known: Pisistratus proved moderate in his government, and invited Solon back, but he declined to come. He wrote many elegies, some fragments of which are extant. He died in Cyprus, at eighty years of age; Lucian says one hundred: his body was by his order carried to Salamis, and buried in a corn-field, which he required to be plowed over him. See further, note 92.

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46 Milo, of Croton, a city of the Brutii in the south of Italy, now in the kingdom of Naples, was six times victor at the Olympic games. Divers odd stories are told of his great strength, as that he carried a large ox on his shoulders, through the whole Olympic field, as if it had been a lamb: it is commonly added that he began with carrying a calf, and, continuing that practice every day with the same creature, till it grew to its full size, gained strength by it. Whence the proverb, *Taurum feret, qui vitulum tulit*—he'll carry an ox, that begins with a calf; which sometimes is interpreted to another sense. What Solinus tells of him, is much stranger, that with a blow of his fist he felled an ox, and eat him all up the same day. *Aul. Gellius, l. 17. c. 16.* gives this account of his death, that seeing a tree split down in part, to try what strength he had left, he attempted to rive it quite asunder; and when he had forced it in part, the tree recovering itself, bound his hands in the rift, and held him, being alone and without help, till he perished.—But the story Diodorus Siculus gives us, in which this Milo was concerned, is much more worthy of notice. Sybaris was a wealthy populous city, on the borders of Lucania and the Brutii, and had divers others subject to it: the faction of one Telys (a citizen of great power) prevailing, five hundred of the principal inhabitants were banished by him, and their estates confiscated. These fled to Croton, and to the altars there for refuge. Telys on hearing this, by a message required the Crotonians to surrender them, or otherwise they might expect a war. The Crotonians long doubtful what to do, were prevailed on by Pythagoras, then present, rather to depend on the assistance of the gods, and hazard a war, than betray their supplicants. The Sybarites hereupon brought an army of three hundred thousand men into the field; the Crotonians met them with one hundred thousand, with Milo at their head; fought the Sybarites, beat them, and giving no quarter, cut almost the whole army in the battle and flight to pieces; and utterly destroying

the town, put an end to their whole dominion: so that Sybaris was no more heard of, but in story, by that name; for Thurium was built by the Athenians in its place. Strabo, an excellent geographer, under the reign of Augustus Cæsar, who as well as Diodorus, relates this, says, that these two towns were but two hundred stadia, *i. e.* twenty-five miles distant from each other.—The action must have happened near the fiftieth Olympiad, and about six hundred years before Christ.—This was not necessary for illustrating Cicero; but my design in relating it, is to note the vast populousness of some countries in former ages. It is true, that in those times, war was not carried on by mercenaries, as now; but every man from sixteen to sixty was obliged to bear arms. Many other astonishing instances may be given, of the vast numbers of people in those times in Italy, Greece, Sicily, Egypt, Asia, &c. But no where more than in the Old Testament, where it is said [2 *Chron.* c. 13.] that Abijah led an army of four hundred thousand men against Jeroboam, who met him with another of eight hundred thousand, and that five hundred thousand of the latter fell in the battle; yet their two cities were not fifty miles distant from each other, nor their whole dominions taken together, much above thrice the extent of Yorkshire.

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47 I find no Sextus Æmilius in the Roman history: perhaps it should be M. Æmilius, that is Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who was consul the first time in the five hundred and sixty-seventh year of the city, and was also Pontifex Maximus, prince of the senate, and censor; and died old, in the year of Rome 602, about a year or two before this discourse was held or supposed; for by Cato's being in his eighty-fourth year, as he says, that would fall in the 603d of Rome. But the various readings give L. Ælius, one perhaps of that poor, but excellent family of the Æli Tuberones, into which P. Æmilius's second daughter was married, as was observed in note 24.

48 Mentioned before in note 27,

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49 Publius Licinius Crassus I suppose, who was consul in the year five hundred and eighty-three; or rather his father, of the same name, who was consul in the five hundred and forty-ninth year, and bore all the other great offices, as Pont. Max. and censor; and died in the five hundred and seventy-first of Rome. Livy, *lib.* 34. c. 28. & *lib.* 39. c. 46.

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50 See note 97.

51 See note 24.

52 See note 7 and 29.

53 Lucius Cæcilius Metellus was the first time consul in the five hundred and second year of Rome, two hundred and fifty years before Christ, when, commanding in Sicily in the first Punic war, he defeated Asdrubal the Carthaginian general, killed twenty thousand of his men, with twenty-six elephants, and took above a hundred, which he presented to Rome for a show. *Eutrop.* *lib.* 2. He was second time consul in five hundred and seven; and, by what is said here, he must have been made pontifex in five hundred and eleven, and have lived to five hundred and thirty-three, at which time Cato must have been only fourteen years old.

54 Pontifex Maximus. The Romans, though they did not practise all the little fopperies of the Greeks in their religion, as Diod. Siculus notes; yet not only the people, but the government itself, were superstitious as any in the world; as was observed in note 19: which was principally owing to the solemn institutions of their second king, Numa Pompilius, who, during his long reign of forty-three years, applied himself to little besides. He appointed an order of priesthood, of which he made four chief pontiffs, who took their titles [as Plutarch and Varro say] from their having the charge of their great wooden bridge over Tiber: these were afterwards increased to nine, and again to fifteen: they were chosen out of the greatest men of Rome for authority in the state; they held their offices for life;

the succession was by election, and generally made by their own college : yet the choice was twice put into the power of the people by their tribunes ; but was soon after the first time restored to the college by Sulla, and the second time by Cæsar, who having gained the absolute power, took it from the people ; and making himself Pontifex Maximus, all his successors in the empire constantly bore the title, even after they became Christians, till Gratian, about the year of Christ three hundred and eighty, rejected it.

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55 Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ in Peloponnesus, and brother of Menelaus, was general of all the forces of the Greeks, that went against Troy. He makes this wish, in Homer's *Iliad*, B. or book 2. v. 372, in the Greek ; in English thus, by A. Pope, v. 440.

To him the king.....How much thy years excel
In arts of council, and of speaking well :
Oh, would the gods, in love to Greece, decree
But ten such sages as they grant in thee,
Such wisdom soon should Priam's force destroy,
And soon should fall the haughty towers of Troy.

56 Both Plutarch, in the life of Cato, and C. Nepos say, he went into the service at the age of 17 ; and we saw before, in note 13, that he was in it at the retaking of Capua in his 20th year. He went quæstor in his 30th year, with Scipio Africanus, into Sicily and Africa, where (his office engaging him in the business of the public accounts, and Scipio being of a free temper and a generous disposition) they widely disagreed ; insomuch that Cato, repairing to Rome, and there applying himself to Q. Fabius Maximus, whom he principally chose (as we saw before in note 11) for his patron, this affair, together with a complaint of the Locrians, a people situate near Sicily, was laid before the senate ; and being highly exaggerated by Fabius ; a prætor and two tribunes were appointed, and very close orders given them to inquire into Scipio's conduct : who returning, confirmed the complaint of the Locrians ; but in relation to

Scipio, as Plutarch gives it, in the life of Cato, they reported, that when not otherwise engaged, he took his diversion and enjoyed himself with his friends: but at the same time he neglected no business. Livy, on the other hand, who is much larger in his account of the whole [b. 29. c. 22] without mentioning Cato at all, but making Fabius the chief complainant, represents those ambassadors charmed with the excellent order they found both the fleet and army in, of which they made report to the advantage of Scipio in the highest degree.—Scipio embarked for Africa in the 550th year of Rome, when Cato must have been about 30 years old. He was consul in the 559th, and had Spain for his province, where he obtained signal victories over the Spanish inhabitants, (for the Carthaginians, in the late peace made six years before, had intirely surrendered to Rome, and quitted all their pretensions to Spain) and the next year, on his return to Rome, viz. 560, he had a triumph for these victories. Three years after this he went *tribunus militum*, or tribune of the soldiers [generally of the infantry, a kind of major-general of the foot] under Manius Acilius Glabrio, one of the consuls, in the 563d of Rome, into Macedon and Thessaly, to oppose Antiochus Magnus, king of Syria; who, under pretence of asserting the liberties of Greece (for which there was no occasion, since T. Q. Flaminius, as in note 3, had put the Greeks in possession of these five years before) made war against the Romans; and posting himself in the famous straits of Thermopylæ (where Leonidas, and 300 Lacedemonians, opposing Xerxes so gallantly died) was by Cato's conduct, in surmounting the cliffs, intirely defeated. He was chosen censor 11 years after his consulship, in his 50th year: on which Livy, b. 39, as quoted before in note 7, is large. As to his age, as he was born [as in note 12] in the 520th year of Rome; and Cicero in his Brutus gives the consuls of the year he died in, who by the *fasti* were so in the 605th year; he should have died according to that account, in his 85th year; but this directly contradicts the historian Livy, whose business it was more exactly to consult and consider the annals, and who [in note 7]

positively says, he impleaded S. Galba in his ninetieth year ; and C. Nepos, another good historian, says, he was engaged in public affairs 80 years ; by which he should have lived to near 100 years. These historians therefore, are most to be depended on : for Cicero has been observed in some other cases to miss in his computations.

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57 This was some officer then noted for his great strength, not elsewhere mentioned, that I know of.

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58 Massinissa, son of Gala, king of the Massylians, a nation of the Numidians in Africa. His story is extremely remarkable. The two Scipio's in Spain, mentioned before in note 50, but largely spoken of in note 97, sent legates to Syphax, king of the Numidians, to engage his friendship to the Romans ; in which they succeeded. The Carthaginians provoked at this, prevailed with Gala to make war upon Syphax ; which he accordingly did, by sending his son Massinissa, a youth of great spirit, though but 17 years of age, with an army against him. This young general intirely defeated Syphax ; and being in the interest of the Carthaginians, he went over as their ally into Spain, where he very much contributed to the overthrow of the Scipios. His father Gala dying, his brother Oesalce, Massinissa's uncle, succeeded him ; and on his death soon after, Gala's son Capusa, who, being young and weak, one Mezetulus of the royal blood, rebelled against him, raised an army, and fought the young king, who with most of his army was cut off. Yet Mezetulus on his removal claimed not the crown to himself, but set up Lacumaces, another younger son of Gala, to whom he pretended to be guardian. Massinissa (who objected not to his uncle Oesalce's succession to his father, for so the law of their country appointed) hearing in Spain of his uncle's and cousin's death, hastened over to Africa, landed in Mauritania, and obtained of its king Bocchar, 4000 men, with whom he marched into Massylia ; and meeting there only 500 of his countrymen, who went to receive him, he, according to promise, dismissed

his escort, the Moors. His numbers increasing, and gaining one battle, Lacumaces fled to Syphax. Massinissa, doubting his own strength, proposed an accommodation; of which Syphax approved at first, till Asdrubal of Carthage, shewed him the danger of such a neighbor, and prevailed with him to carry on the war. This he accordingly did, and overthrew Massinissa, who with a few about him, fled to the mountains, and there lived on plunder. Syphax sent a commander (whose name also was Bocchar) with forces against him, who intirely defeated and pursued him to a large rapid river; Massinissa, with four more, plunged in; two of them were carried away by the violence of the stream, and perished; but Massinissa, though sorely wounded, with the other two, escaped. Bocchar and his men, believing them all lost, reported the matter so to Syphax, to his and his people's no small joy, as well as to that of Asdrubal. But Massinissa, as soon as he had recovered of his wound, to their great mortification, and to the equal joy of his friends, appeared again, as if he had dropt out of the clouds, and in a little time collecting an army of 6000 foot and 4000 horse, was ready to oppose Syphax; who then began to consider Massinissa as an enemy that would require his utmost thought and care. He therefore raised a large army, marched himself against him, and sending his son Vermina with another body round to attack him on the rear, while he himself engaged in the front, Massinissa was intirely routed again; and it was only by his singular dexterity, that he narrowly escaped the great diligence Vermina used in the pursuit: but from that time he was obliged to keep private and at a distance, till the Romans landed. At this time Asdrubal, apprehending the Romans might as formerly make a descent on Africa, judged it necessary to bring Syphax into a strict alliance with Carthage: for which end he gave him his daughter Sophonisba, a fine woman, in marriage. Scipio landing, sent Lælius into the country before him. Massinissa then presently appeared; and joining him, drew great numbers of Numidians to their assistance. Their first battle was with Syphax, whom they defeated, and took

himself, with his beautiful queen Sophonisba, prisoners. She fell at Massinissa's feet, imploring his mercy, as of the same country with her, and that she might rather die, than be delivered up to the pride of the Romans. This he not only promised, but, charmed with her looks and behavior, married her himself the same day. Scipio highly offended at this, reproved him for it; and he knowing his dependence must be wholly on the Romans, to be as just to his bride as lay in his power, and to keep his word to her, sent her a bowl of poison with an appropriate message, which she bravely took, and, as she desired, died free. This is all related Livy, *lib.* 29. Massinissa, by the favor of the Romans, greatly enlarged his dominions. He reigned 60 years; was always faithful to the Romans, and left this younger Scipio his executor. *Liv. lib.* 50. *Epit.*

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59 Cato's *Origines* was a work much esteemed by the Romans, but it is lost to us. C. Nepos informs us, that its first book contained the actions of the people of Rome, (probably to the time of the first Punic or Carthaginian war) the second and third gave the origin or first rise of all the cities of Italy; the fourth was the history of the first Punic war; the fifth gave the second, which was in his own time: in the following he related their other wars, till the conquest of Lusitania, now Portugal; which I judge to have been the conquest mentioned by Livy, *lib.* 41. c. 11. for which L. Posthumius triumphed about 20 years before this discourse; for I find Sergius Galba, whom Nepos names, no where mentioned in relation to these wars.

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60 Archytas, of Tarentum, was of Pythagoras's school, contemporary with Plato, whose life he saved when Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse, intended, for some free discourse, to put him to death. He governed the Tarentines, and seven times commanded them and their confederate armies. He was a great mathematician and mechanic, and made a wooden pigeon that would by springs fly about in the air.

A. Gellius, lib. 10. 12. Diog. Laertius, Strabo, Suidas, Ælian, Athenæus, speak of him. Horace remembers him also, in that ode, beginning with,

Te maris et terræ numeroque carentis arenæ

Mensorem cohibent Archyta—Lib. 1. Od. 28.

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61 This was in the year of Rome four hundred and thirty-three. The story is so remarkable, and may be so usefully applied, that it is well worth knowing. The Samnites were the toughest enemies the Romans had to deal with in Italy. They had been at war with them at times for thirty years; and now resolving, if possible, intirely to subdue them, the two consuls here named, led the better part of the forces of Rome against them. Pontius used means to deceive and decoy them, till they unwarily marched into a vale, surrounded on all sides, but at two defiles, with thick impassable forests and mountains, and coming to the outlet, they found it closed up with vast trees and stones heaped together by the Samnite army, who, much contrary to the false informations, artfully given the Roman consuls by suborned shepherds, were there watching their enemy; and when they would have returned by the way they came in, they found that entrance in the same condition with the other. The Romans thus shut up, and in a manner besieged, could find no possible means of extricating themselves, or to prevent their starving. The Samnite general Pontius having them at this disadvantage, sent to his father Herennius Pontius, who was in great repute for his virtue and wisdom, for his advice what he should do with the enemy then in his power. The father advised his son to dismiss them honorably, and make peace with Rome; for this generous action would for ever engage the friendship of the Romans. The son could not think of intirely giving up such an advantage, and therefore sent to his father again, desiring him to consider further of it. He then advised the general to put them all to the sword; for by this, Rome would for a long time be so weakened, that their neighbors might for that time at least live in peace. This last ad-

vice the son thought too cruel, and, by the advice of the army, sending for his father, prayed his presence; who, being very old, to oblige his son, came to the camp in a waggon, and there supporting both parts of his advice with reasons, said he knew no medium, and returned. But the son, resolving to take a middle course, gave all the Romans their lives; concluded articles of peace, to be confirmed by the senate; took hostages; but disarmed them all, and obliged the whole army, with the consuls, to pass or creep *sub hastam*, under the pike; a mark of the greatest ignominy. And thus they all returned home disarmed, in the utmost confusion; which was also greater in the city, than if they had been utterly defeated or destroyed. Posthumius the consul hereupon told the senate, they were not obliged by what he and his colleague Veturius had done; advised that they who signed the articles, might be sent back bound to the Samnites, with the officer called a fecial, a kind of herald, to deliver them. This being done, and these men delivered to Pontius bound, Posthumius said, he was now no longer a Roman, but a Samnite; and having his feet at liberty, kicked the fecial officer, and said, Now Rome has just cause to make war on the Samnites, since one of those people (meaning himself) had violated the law of nations, and abused a sacred officer of the Romans. Pontius justly provoked at this fraud and prevarication of the Romans, in a most reasonable speech [as Livy, the Roman historian, himself gives it, *lib. 9. c. 11.*] refusing to receive the consuls, highly upbraided the Romans, for their breach of faith, loudly expostulated with those present, and insisted, that if they had any regard to justice, honor, or for the gods they swore by, they should either ratify the peace made on his giving the army their lives and freedom, or they ought to return to the same place they had been by his favor delivered from, where their arms should be all restored to them, to use again as they pleased. And then he ordered those who were bound to be untied, and, telling them he had nothing to say to them, the Samnites would now insist on the articles, which was all they had in ex-

change for the whole army of Rome: bid them go about their business. Accordingly they went home. The Romans immediately carried on the war against them, in which Pontius had many engagements with them; but at length, upon an intire defeat of his army, by Fabius Gurgus, whom he had vanquished but a little before, he was taken prisoner by him, led in triumph at Rome, twenty-five years after the other action, and ungenerously there put to death.—There is another case in the Roman history, exactly parallel to this; when Mancinus the consul, being with his army caught by the Numantines in Spain, much in the same manner, for making a peace that displeased the senate, he was sent back, and in the same manner delivered to that people, but refused by them; and then by a fresh army, under the command of this great man, but ill employed Scipio Æmilianus, they were famished to death, and utterly destroyed; on no other pretence, than to cover the scandal the Romans conceived they underwent in being so shamefully beaten.

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62 There is no such pair of consuls together to be found in the Roman *fasti*. In the various readings of the text, there is, instead of L. Æmilius and Appius Claudius, Lucius Camillus and Publius Claudius; who truly were consuls in the four hundredth year of Rome: and this well suits Plato's age; for he must then have been about forty-two years.

63 This is touched in note 3, but it requires to be farther spoke to. *Val. Maximus*, l. 2. c. 9. gives the story much as Cicero has it here; but Livy, the chief of the Roman historians, delivers it otherwise. He says, *lib.* 39. c. 42. That Lucius Q. Flaminius, going with the army into Gaul, prevailed with a noted beautiful youth (whom he calls Philip of Carthage) on great promises made to him, to go with him to the camp: that the lad in toying with the consul, often used to upbraid him, that, to gratify him, he had lost the pleasure of the shows of gladiators [or fencers] that were then exhibiting in Rome: that as they were one even-

ing at supper, and merry over their liquor, word was brought to the consul, that a noble Boian [these were a people of Gaul] was come over with his children to submit himself, and crave the protection of the Romans: that desiring to see the consul himself, the gentleman was called in; and while he was addressing himself to him by an interpreter, Lucius asked his—*he-miss*, whether (since he complained of losing the sight of gladiators dying at Rome) he would be pleased to see that Gaul die there before him? That the lad jestingly consenting, Lucius taking his sword that hung by him, rose up and gave the man, as he was speaking, a wound in the head, and then, as he endeavored to escape, pursued and run him through the body.—Livy gives this from Cato's own speech, which he seems to have then had by him; and blames another historian, for delivering it wrong, and only upon hear-say, as by this of Livy, Cicero seems to have done here. Plutarch tells it both ways, in the lives both of T. Flaminius and of Cato.

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64 This Cineas, in studying eloquence, was a hearer of the famous orator Demosthenes of Athens, and was thought to express his manner the nearest of any of his age. He afterwards attended Pyrrhus, who said of him, that he had gained more places by Cineas's eloquence, than by his own arms. Plutarch gives this fine relation of him, that seeing Pyrrhus bent on his expedition into Italy, [see notes 25, 26.] taking a proper opportunity for it; these Romans, said Cineas to Pyrrhus, are accounted a very brave people, and are said to have subdued many valiant nations about them; should it please God to allow us to conquer them, pray what are we to do next? Why then, said Pyrrhus, all the rest of Italy will lie open to us: for when once we have subdued Rome, no other nation there will pretend to resist us; and Italy, you know, as it is a rich and large country; will be a noble acquisition. That it would, said Cineas: and pray, what are we to do next? Then, answered Pyrrhus, as Sicily lies close by it, and now since Agathocles' death, is all in confusion, we will step over thither, and make

that easily our own also. And shall we rest there? said Cineas. No, answered Pyrrhus; Carthage and Africa lie so near, and so tempting, that we must have these also; nor will it be difficult, since Agathocles himself was once so near taking Carthage, and with no very great force neither. And what course are we to take next? said Cineas. Then you very well know, replied Pyrrhus, that those who have hitherto given us so much trouble, will no longer be able to oppose us; we shall get the better of all our adversaries. That is very probable, said Cineas, when you have made so many large conquests, you may easily get Macedon, and reduce all Greece to reason; but after all these mighty achievements, pray, sir, be pleased to tell me what use we are to make of them, and what is to follow next? Why then truly, Cineas, said Pyrrhus, smiling, we'll sit down, be merry and drink, and enjoy ourselves in quiet with our friends. And if that be all, answered Cineas, pray what hinders us from doing just the same, as things now stand? You well know, you have now, as much as you then would, all the necessary means for this, in your power; and you may be as merry, as quiet, and enjoy your friends as much as you will ever be able to do, after all the vast fatigues and hazards, and effusion of blood, these undertakings must necessarily be attended with; and after, you have not only involved infinite numbers of people, who have never offended you, in all the dire calamities of war, but must also expose your best friends to numberless dangers.—Pyrrhus was not well pleased with this close. He proceeded, as has been noted, to Italy; and being there disappointed, he passed over into Sicily, where he was more so; and returning to Italy, he was there soundly beaten by the Romans, and obliged to fly. At home in Epirus and Greece he continued restless; and at length, in Argos, had his brains beat out, by a potsheard thrown from the top of a house by an old woman. His life is in Plutarch, which see.

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65 See note 26.
cicus, note 25.

66 See note 27, and for Fabri-

67 Epicurus is meant here, who was then living: for Laertius says, he was born the third year of the one hundred and ninth Olympiad, seven years after Plato's death, and died in the second of the one hundred and twenty-seventh Olympiad, in the seventy-second year of his age: he therefore must have lived nine years after Pyrrhus's expedition into Italy. Epicurus had in his own time a very ill character given him by the philosophers of other sects, and the same has through all succeeding ages stuck to him; but many think him much wronged. His physics, or opinions of nature, were grossly absurd in many things, but his morals that are so much decried, were very different from what they are generally accounted. He proposed pleasure, it is true, for the end of action; but that pleasure was to consist in the tranquillity of the mind, and inward satisfaction, and not in voluptuous enjoyments: for he is said to have been perfectly temperate himself, and that all his doctrine tended to the same. He wrote much, but nothing of his remains, save what Laertius had in his tenth book, which is wholly bestowed on his life and doctrine. Gassendus explained it in some large volumes.

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68 Publius Decius Mus, was the first time consul in the four hundred and forty-second year of Rome; and this fourth time, when he fell, was in the four hundred and fifty-ninth. The two consuls Quintus Fabius Maximus [there were divers from time to time of that name of the same family] being the fifth time consul, and this Decius (as has been noted) the fourth, were engaged in a doubtful and almost desperate battle with the Gauls and Samnites; with whom two other nations, the Etrurians (or Tuscans) and the Umbrians, were also at the same time confederates against Rome. When the fight had continued long, nearly equal on both sides, and at length the Gauls made some impression on the left wing where Decius commanded; and his men began to break and fly, nor could he by any means restrain them; invoking his father's name, who had before devoted himself, he called to him the pontiff that attended,

to repeat to him the form to be used in devoting; which he took in the same manner his father had done, and in the same manner also the Romans got the day: for the flying forces, hearing what their general had done, rallied of themselves, and with new spirits vigorously attacked their enemies, and bore all before them.—To devote one, is to offer him up as accursed, an atoning sacrifice, for the safety of others: and the method of it is curious enough to render it worth knowing. We have it particularly in Livy, in his account of this Decius his father devoting himself, [*lib.* 8. c. 9.] in the 414th year of Rome; and it was thus: the Romans and the Latins after a long alliance differing, they drew out equal forces and engaged. Victory inclining to neither side, and one of the consuls, Decius, almost despairing of it, resolved on a desperate action, which he hoped might secure it. He called on the pontiff who was with him, to repeat before him the solemn form of devoting; for he would offer himself up, he said, as an atonement for the army. The pontiff ordered him to put on the civic gown; and covering his head, he put up his hand within his gown under his chin, and treading on a weapon, to repeat these words after him: “O Janus, Jupiter, father Mars, Quirinus, Bellona! Ye home gods, foreign gods, indigetes, and lower gods, who have us and our enemies in your power! and ye infernal gods! I pray, adore; and beseech you, that you will make good and prosper, and give strength and victory to the Roman people; that you will confound, terrify, and put to death the enemies of the Romans! as I have now conceived in words, so, for the public weal, army, legions, and auxiliaries of the Roman people, I devote, or [*accurse*] the legions and auxiliaries of their enemies, together with myself, to the infernal gods, and to the earth.” This done, he sent notice of it to the other consul T. Manlius. Then putting on his armor and mounting his horse, he rode into the thickest of the enemy, and carried destruction before him, till he was cut in pieces: which was one necessary part of the ceremony; for with-

out it, all the rest would have been void. And therefore when this man's grandson, Publius Decius, being consul with Sulpicius, in the second battle the Romans had with Pyrrhus; and it was reported, that he, after his grandfather's and father's example, would also devote himself; Pyrrhus apprehensive lest it might give some terror to his men, sent word to the consul, that he should leave off fooling; for that he would take order, if he attempted it, to disappoint him, he should not fall in that manner in the field, but meet with a death less to his liking. He neither did, however, nor had proposed to attempt it. Livy, *lib.* 8. and Plutarch in Pyrrhus.

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69 The Romans having had great success for four years against the Carthaginians, in their first war with them, by land; but lying exposed to them by sea, as having no fleet, resolved to build one; and ordered the consuls, of whom this Duillius was one, to proceed to the work; and in sixty days (Livy says) after the timber was fallen, they had [*incredible*] one hundred and sixty ships of war completed and at anchor: to furnish which with men, those designed for the service, were taught all the motions and management of oars, in which, while their ships were building, they were exercised on shore. But finding on trial these ships much more unwieldy than those of their enemies; to balance this, they contrived an engine placed at their heads, by which, when closed in with another ship, they would grapple and hold her so fast, that she could not possibly get clear. They framed also on the engine a kind of platform to stand on, and enter other ships by it. Thus they fought at sea, as if they had been on land, hand to hand with their enemies: and in the first engagement, Duillius sunk fourteen ships, killing three thousand men, and took thirty-one ships more, with seven thousand prisoners; for which he triumphed.

70 Commonly called *Idea mater*, the Idæan mother. In the 549th year of Rome, a little before Annibal left Italy,

the Roman armies were seized with so violent a sickness, that they were in danger of being all lost; nor were the Carthaginians clear from it: and about the same time dreadful prodigies from the heavens were seen, as raining stones (of which we hear so often in their history, that we may reasonably believe they must have meant only large hail by it; for they accounted even great thunder-storms a denunciation of the anger of their gods.) Those who had the Sibylls books in keeping, consulting them on these calamities, said, they found an oracle there, declaring, that when a foreign enemy should invade Italy, the country might be delivered from them, if the Idæan mother were brought from Pessinus to Rome. This was a place in Phrygia in Asia Minor. And for this the Romans fitted out five large ships, with a solemn embassy to Attalus, the king of those parts, to request the favor. They took the oracle of Delphi in their way, to consult, that also, and know their success; the answer was favorable, further telling them, "The worthiest man of Rome must be appointed to receive the goddess into the city." Attalus, to oblige the Romans, though they had then no intercourse with Asia, granted their request; and shewed them a great stone, which the inhabitants called by that name: and they brought her divinity to the river Tiber, where Scipio Nassica was appointed, as the best man in Rome, to receive her. Thus Livy, *b. 29. c. 10, &c.* Herodian, who wrote the history of the reigns of ten emperors, about the year of Christ 240, in the life of Commodus, tells a long story of that goddess, and the devotion yearly paid her at Rome: He says, the image was framed by no mortal hands, but sent down from heaven by Jupiter; that the ship that brought her, sticking fast in the river Tiber, a vestal virgin, who was accused of unchastity, to prove her innocence, hauled the ship along, only by her girdle. But Livy writing the history of the time, says nothing of this: for miracles are often best known some centuries after they are said to have been wrought.

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71 In Xenophon's works there is a tract called the *Symposion*, or feast, consisting of the pleasant discourses of the guests ; which is more natural than that of Plato's.

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72 Turpio Ambivius was a famous actor in Rome, about the five hundred and ninetieth year of the city. He is mentioned in what is called the *Didescalia*, of four of the six comedies we have of Terence, to have been the principal actor of them.

73 Caius Sulpicius Gallus, the first of the Romans [Pliny says, *lib. 2. c. 12.*] who applied himself to the study of the stars, in which he was very famous. Being *tribunus militum* in the army commanded by Paulus Æmilius, the day before the great battle, in which Perseus king of Macedon was defeated, and his kingdom thereupon made a province, [see note 24] he gave public notice to the army, that the ensuing evening the moon would be eclipsed and darkened from the second to the fourth hour, [that was then, from near ten to near twelve at night in our account] and as this could be foretold, by the knowlege only of the course and motions of the sun and moon, they should not therefore be surprised at it, or account it a prodigy. But the Macedonians, it seems, were not so happy, as to have such a skilful adviser amongst them ; for the eclipse happened accordingly, and the Greeks were much terrified. Livy, who [*lib. 44. c. 37.*] relates this, says, it was the night before the fourth of September, which both Calvisius and Petavius having calculated, find to have fallen on the twenty-first of June, one hundred and sixty-eight years before Christ, according to our present account ; for the Roman calendar was at that time, for the reasons given by Censorinus [*cap. 20.*] exceedingly perplexed and uncertain, till Julius Cæsar in his third consulate, being then also Pontifex Maximus, forty-five years before Christ, regulated it, and established our present Julian account. This Sulpicius Gallus, two years after that battle, was consul himself and

Paulus Æmilius, the consul and general in it, natural father to this Scipio [see note 24] was his great friend.

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74 Cneius Nævius, see note 30.

75 Marcus Accius Plautus: we have twenty of his comedies still extant, and amongst them, those two here named.

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76 The same with Publius Crassus mentioned before. See note 49.

77 Marcus Cethegus is mentioned by Cicero in his *Brutus*, or book *de claris oratoribus*, as the first orator amongst the Romans worth notice, or that bore that character: and his name was the more famous for the honorable mention Ennius made of him in his annals, some of whose verses Cicero there quotes, and says, he was consul nine years before Cato, that is, in the five hundred and fiftieth year of Rome, two hundred and four years before Christ, the fifteenth of the second Punic war.

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78 This book of Cato's, *de Re Rustica*, is still extant, and is the oldest book in prose, that we have in the Latin tongue; but does no great honor to the author.

79 We have one, or as some account them, two short books of Hesiod's, called *Works and Days*, with two others in which, among some other things, he lays down several rules for husbandry: and from these Virgil copies in his *Georgicæ*, but very much enlarged and far exceeded him.

80 This seems to be a lapse of memory in Cicero; for there is no such passage in Homer, as we now have his works, as that Laertes was dunging his fields. If any where, it should be in the twenty-fourth or last book of the *Odyssey*. But there Spondanus, on the two hundred and twenty-sixth verse, *Listraonta phyton*, &c. notes, that Gifanius has observed this passage here in Cato, to be a mis-

take in Cicero. Yet Cicero in his time might perhaps have read it in that sense in Homer, as *koprizonta* or *kopreuonta*, dunging, instead of *listraonta* or *listreuota*, levelling the plants; which is indeed an odd expression.

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81 Manius Curius Detantus, for his history see note 26 before. I shall only add here, that Plutarch [*Apopth. Rom.*] says, he was then boiling (others say roasting) turneps for his supper: and *Val. Maximus*, who has the same story [*lib. 4. c. 3.*] says, he was eating out of a wooden dish, and that by his furniture we may judge what were his viands, &c.

82 Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus was consul of Rome in the two hundred and ninety-third years of it, four hundred and fifty-nine years before Christ; being surrogated in the place of Valerius Poplicola, who was killed in recovering the capitol from Herdonius [*Liv. l. 3. c. 19.*] the Romans being exceedingly pressed by the Volsci two years after, and finding themselves obliged to appoint a dictator, they chose Quinctius, who then lived on his small farm, that had consisted at first but of seven Roman *jugera*, which makes in the whole but about four and a half English acres; but by paying a fine for his son Sæso, was reduced to four *jugera*, or two and a half acres only. On this farm the messenger sent to him from the senate, found him at work; who desiring him to put on his gown, that he might receive the pleasure of the senate, he left his plough, and called on his wife Recilia (for her name is also remembered) to bring it to him; he put it on and was then saluted by him, dictator; an office so high, that it superseded all the other powers, as has been noted before. Livy, *lib. 3. c. 26.* pursues the story, the sum of which was this: he repaired to Rome, raised levies, marched against the enemy, who then besieged the consul with his army in the camp; subdued and made them all pass *sub iugo* a mark of subjection; triumphed for his victory; and, having settled affairs, laid down that great office, which of right he might have held

for six months, the sixteenth day after he entered on it. But the other part of the story, of his causing Mælius to be put to death, was twenty years after, when in a great old age he was chosen dictator again, on purpose to quell that conspiracy. Livy, *b. 4. c. 13. &c.* has the story. Both Livy and Val. Maximus, *l. 4. c. 4.* have some fine reflections on the first part of this account of Cincinnatus.

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83 Marcus Valerius Corvus or Corvinus. Livy, an historian of great gravity, *b. 7. c. 26.* tells this very odd story of him: that being a tribune of war, when the Roman army under the consul L. Furius Camillus, was to engage that of the Gauls, a champion of that nation, remarkable both for his size and armor, stepping out, challenged the whole Roman army, to send out any one of their bravest men to fight him in single combat. This Valerius took the challenge, met him, and had no sooner began to engage, than a crow or raven [but *corvus* is properly a raven, though often rendered a crow] lighted on his helmet or head-piece, and as often as he attacked the Gaul, the bird with his bill and claws did the same, flying at his eyes and face; which so confounded the man, that he soon fell at Valerius's feet, and was dispatched by him; and then it flew away to the eastward. Hence the victor took the name of Corvus or Corvinus, for it frequently occurs wrote both these ways. Val. Maximus. *b. 8. c. 13.* brings him as an example of one that lived to a great and happy old age, and says, he lived to one hundred years in vigor both of body and mind; was six times consul in the space of forty-seven years; discharged the greatest trust; kept his farm in most exquisite order, and set a noble example both in public and private life. Pliny, *N. Hist. b. 7. 48.* mentions also his living to one hundred years, and that he was six times consul, a number that none besides, except C. Marius, before the time of the emperors ever equalled.

84 It may appear strange, that in this discourse, where so many instances are given of persons who had attained

to a great age, and preserved it in their vigor both of body and mind, Cato should be made to place the commencement of old age at the forty-sixth year of life ; but the author Cicero had good authority for it. His friend Varro, who always had the character of the most learned of all the Romans, (as Censorinus, *de die natali*, c. 14. quotes him) divided the life of man into five stages, each consisting of fifteen years : those in the first stage, he calls *pueri*, boys : in the second to thirty years, *adolescentes*, or youths ; in the third to forty-five *juvenes*, young men, so called, he says *a juvando*, from helping, because they assisted the state in bearing arms ; from thence to sixty he calls *seniores*, because on entering on that stage, they begin *senescere*, to wax old ; and from sixty to the end of life, for which he fixes no term, they are *senes*, or old men. Censorinus goes on to say, that Hippocrates the physician divided life into seven stages ; the terms of which are to 7, 14, 28, 35, 42, 56, and from thence to the end : that Solon made ten, each of seven years ; to which Staseas added two more, making the last term eighty-four, or twelve times seven ; which agrees with our present tables, calculated by Dr. Halley, for valuing estates for lives : for these make eighty-five the last period, beyond which no chance for living is estimated.

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85 See note 53 before.

86 Atilius Calatinus was consul in the 496th year of Rome ; a short account of whose life is given by Aurelius Victor, amongst his illustrious men ; but there appears nothing very particular in it, worth noting here. And it is to be questioned, whether in all the monuments we have left us of antiquity, there can be any thing now produced that should intitle him to so high a character ; for in Freinsheimius's supplements to Livy, *lib.* 17. 22. there is a very disadvantageous story of him and his army, who in the first Punic war besieged Mutistratum (now Mistretta) in Sicily, when the inhabitants, obliged the Carthaginian garrison, who were possessed of it, to surrender, or suffer them at

least to surrender to the Romans; these, without mercy, and without distinction of sex or age, put the greater part of those inhabitants to the sword, and sold the rest for slaves. Florus, *l. 2. c. 2.* gives him the title of dictator, but his story is obscure. It was to save this army, that Calpurnius Flamma, with three hundred more, sacrificed their own lives, as in note 100.

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87 Æmilius Lepidus was the first time consul in the 567th year of Rome, eight years after Cato; he was the second time in the 579th year. He was chosen one of the pontiffs in the 556, and Pontifex Maximus about the year 571, and continued so near 30 years, till his death, which was about the year 602. See note 47. It is noted in the argument of the 48th book of Livy, (for that and all the rest from the forty-fifth are lost, but the arguments remain) that he was six times appointed by the censors prince of the senate, and that he ordered his son at his death, that his funeral should be without any pomp or charge.

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88 Mitio and Demea, characters directly opposite in two brothers; the latter of whom ruined his own son by his moroseness, the other by his mild treatment of his nephew, brother to that son, made him a fine gentleman. Terence was contemporary with Cato, and his comedy of the *Adelphia* was first acted in the year of Rome 594, by the names of the consuls in the *Didascalia* prefixed to it.

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89 Cato's son and namesake died prætor of the city of Rome, the same year that Lepidus died, as in note 87. viz. in the year 602; and, as it noted in the same argument of Livy there mentioned, viz. of book 48. his father gave him but a very mean funeral, being able to afford no better, for that he was poor: [*M. P. Cato funus mortui filii, in prætura, tenuissimo, ut valuit (nam pauper erat) sumptu facit.*] Which, considering the offices that Cato bore, and

his frugality, adds not a little to his character of probity. —Plutarch gives this remarkable story of young Cato, in the life of his father, that being in the army, under P. Æmilius, afterwards his father-in-law, in the great battle fought with Perseus king of Macedon, [note 24] his sword was struck out of his hand, and he lost it; upon which, getting together a company of young men of his acquaintance, they made such an impression on the enemy, that they cleared the way before them to the same place again, where he recovered it amongst heaps of the slain: and adds, that in his time [Plutarch's, above 250 years after] Cato's letter to his son was extant, congratulating him on the bravery of that action.

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90 See note 24.—These were brothers to Scipio, but by half blood, viz. the sons of Paulus Æmilius by his second wife, as Scipio was born of his first.

91 Tartessus, a city on the north side of the river Bætis, now Guadalquivar, or the river of Seville in Spain, and near the mouth of it; supposed by some to be the Tarshish that Solomon sent his ships to; the Phœnicians his neighbors were the first (it is said) who sailed thither, where they found silver in such plenty, and got so much of it in exchange for their goods, that they could not carry it off, Aristotle says, that to have the more of it, they threw away their anchors, to make others of that metal: but this is in his book of wonderful stories, and therefore may be more strange than true. The Phœceans, a Greek colony in Ionia, were the next who sailed thither, in the time of this Arganthonius, who was exceeding kind to them, inviting them to stay with him, and when they excused themselves, he gave them money enough to wall in their town against the Medes, who were then, invading them. Herodotus gives the story of Arganthonius and the Phœceans l. 1. c. 163. The learned Bochart derives his name from two Phœnician words *Arc-antho*, long-lived. *Canaan*, c. 34.

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92 Solon, see note 45. It is there said, his discourse with Cræsus, king of Lydia, is well known : but the moral of it is so good and suitable to this discourse, that it may properly come in here. Plutarch, in his life of Solon, says, he was sent for by Cræsus ; but Herodotus with more probability, says, that absenting himself from Athens, after he had given them his body of laws, and travelling into Egypt, in his return from thence through Asia Minor, he took Sardis, where Cræsus had his royal seat, in his way. Cræsus was that time accounted the richest king then known, and gloried much in his magnificence, of which he was desirous Solon (whose fame had reached those parts) should be a witness. Sending therefore for him to his palace, and causing his treasures and other marks of his grandeur to be shewn to him, when he afterwards came into his presence, he asked Solon, who he thought was the happiest man in the world ? not doubting but he must answer, Cræsus himself. Solon said, the happiest man he had known, was one Tellus. Cræsus disappointed in his answer, asked, what prince or hero was this Tellus ? Solon replied, he was an honest man of Athens, who lived above want, and in good repute brought up several children as reputably ; then being called to the defence of his country, signalised himself in the battle with the enemy, whom he overcame, and afterwards died fighting bravely in the same cause ; for which a monument was erected in honor of his memory. Cræsus then asked Solon, whom he allowed to be the happiest in the next degree ? Solon said, next to Tellus he had known none happier than Cleobis and Biton, two young men of Argos, who, when their mother wanted creatures to draw her in her carriage to the temple of Juno, harnessing themselves, supplied their place, and drew her five miles to the solemnity ; where being arrived, and the whole assembly greatly admiring and applauding their dutifulness and affection, their mother fervently prayed the goddess to reward her sons filial piety with the choicest blessings she had in store : and her prayers were heard ; for the youths sleep.

ing the same night in the temple, never awaked again, but crowning their life with a glorious action, by the special favor of the gods, honorably ended it. Cræsus grew angry, asked what he thought of him? Solon, in answer, made several fine reflections on the uncertainty of all things in human life; and concluded, that no man was to be esteemed happy before his end was known. Upon which Cræsus dismissed him with scorn; but afterwards had rueful occasion to remember him. For making war on Cyrus, king of Persia, he was defeated; then besieged in his capital, taken prisoner, and condemned to the flames. When laid bound on the pile, he cried out with a mighty voice, "O Solon! Solon! Solon!" Cyrus hearing him, stopt the execution, to know the meaning of it: Cræsus told the whole passage; which so affected Cyrus, that he not only gave him his life, but large possessions with it, and took him into favor. Herodot. l. 1. Plut. in Solon.

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93 The ancients called those tyrants, who took the government upon them against the people's consent, without regard to their manner of administering it.—Athens was a free state, under an archon chosen by the people, and the government popular. Pisistratus was a citizen, wealthy, and for many excellent qualities dear to the people; but secretly ambitious, which Solon discovered, though in vain: for though he was their law-giver, the other was better heard, and at length gained his end by this trick. There were at that time two factions in the state; the one of the inland-men, the other of the shore-men and citizens. Pisistratus being one day in the country, gave both himself and his mules some wounds, and driving into the city in that condition in his chariot, calling the people together, he bid them see how their adversaries had used him, they had resolved to murder him, and he had narrowly escaped with his life. The people hereupon, to secure him for the future, granted him a guard of fifty young men. On the foot of this grant, he added what number he thought fit; and then

possessing himself of the citadel, he usurped the government; yet made no change either in the magistracy or the laws, save that he made himself sovereign. But he was soon expelled; recovered it again by a stranger contrivance; expelled a second time, reinstated himself a third time, died possessed of it, and left it to his children, who were expelled totally by Harmodius and Aristogiton, to whom statues in remembrance of this action were erected.

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94. Lucius Junius Brutus got his name of Brutus (brute or stupid) by his counterfeiting himself a fool, or very silly, under the reign of Tarquin the Proud, the last king of the Romans. He was Tarquin's own sister's son; but the king, his uncle, having amongst others put his elder brother to death, and becoming, by his cruelty and injustice, generally odious, Junius vowed his destruction; and the better to conceal it, affected that appearance. He happened in riding from the camp at Ardea towards Rome, to be in company with his kinsman Tarquinius Collatinus, husband to Lucretia, whom the king's son Sextus had ravished, when her messenger meeting him, brought him the melancholy account of it, Junius immediately laid hold on the occasion, joined Collatinus the husband, and Lucretius her father, in their revenge; and carrying the bloody knife, with which Lucretia had stabbed herself, through the city, incited the people to rise, and assert their liberty; which they effectually did, by expelling Tarquin and all his race. Junius and Collatinus were hereupon chose the two first consuls of Rome. A conspiracy to restore Tarquin was formed the same year, in which Junius's own two sons were engaged. These, with others, their father caused to be lashed, and beheaded in public in his sight. Tarquin then, with the Veientes, his allies, made war against Rome; and the two armies meeting, Aruns the king's son spying Junius at the head of that of Rome, made directly up to him; and they so furiously engaged, that each run his lance through the other's shield and body, and both died on the spot.

And the Roman women mourned a whole year for Brutus, as the avenger of violated chastity. *Liv. l. 1. § 2.*

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95 See note 68 at large.

96 Marcus Atilius Regulus, being in the year 498, of Rome (256 years before Christ) elected the second time consul, in the place of Q. Cædicius, who was chosen for that year, but died soon after, embarking in the ninth year of the Romans first war with the Carthaginians with his colleague Lucius Manlius Vulso, in a fleet of 330 ships, [though this was but the fifth year since the Romans had any fleet at all, see note 69] and 140,000 men, each ship carrying about 420, engaged that of the enemy, consisting of 360 ships and 150,000 men, commanded by Hanno and Hamilcar; sunk thirty of them, and took sixty-three, with the loss of twenty-four on their own side, which were all sunk, and none taken. After this victory they invaded Africa, and besieged and took Clupea. This year being expired, and new consuls chosen, the senate ordered Manlius to return with the fleet and army, excepting forty ships, fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to be left under the command of Regulus, during whose government they continued to him as pro-consul. Regulus, on receiving these orders, remonstrated to the senate, that if he continued longer absent from home, his farm [which consisted only of seven jugera, or four and a half English acres] would be ruined; for that his hind or manager that he had left on it was dead, and another had run away with his implements of husbandry; and that his wife and children would want bread. Upon which the senate appointed another to take care of his business, and made good the loss of what was stole from him, out of the public treasury. [*Val. Max. l. 4. c. 4.*] Regulus then augmenting his troops, carried on the war successfully: but his army lying near the river Bagrada, exceedingly suffered by a monstrous serpent; which was proof against all their weapons, till they brought battering engines against it. Silius Italicus

says, it was one hundred yards in length; but Pliny calls it only one hundred and twenty feet, or rather says, its skin of that length, was sent to Rome, together with its jaw-bone, which were kept there in a temple, to the end of the Numantine war, that is at least, one hundred and twenty years. Valerius Maximus, l. 1. c. 8. from a book of Livy (the eighteenth) now lost, is large in the account of the army's sufferings by it, and says, it was more terrible and destructive than all their enemies forces. Regulus having gained several victories over the Carthaginians, was willing to make peace with them, that he might himself have the honor of ending the war; and the Carthaginians earnestly desired it, but the terms he proposed appeared intolerable. Xantippus with some mercenaries that they had sent for, arriving soon after from Lacedemon, observing their past mistakes, at their request took on him the command of their army, gave Regulus battle, defeated him, and destroyed his whole army, then consisting (as Eutropius says) of forty-seven thousand men, excepting two thousand that escaped to Clupea; killing (as he gives it) thirty thousand, and taking fifteen thousand prisoners, with Regulus himself, whom they sent in chains to Carthage. The Romans, notwithstanding this loss, so vigorously carried on the war, that the Carthaginians five years after sent ambassadors to Rome, and with them Regulus himself, to sue for peace, or, if they could not obtain it, at least for an exchange of prisoners; taking Regulus's oath to return, if they did not succeed. [So sacred was an oath by their idols held by those heathens, that are now so little regarded, even by Christian princes, as well as others.] Coming to the senate, Regulus behaved as a Carthaginian, whose subject he said he was; but being required to give his sentiments as a Roman, he advised both against a peace and an exchange. See Horace, book 3. ode 5. on this subject. His friends on the senate's taking his advice, used their utmost endeavors to dissuade him from returning with the ambassadors, since he could expect nothing but the most cruel treatment; nor would the senate either encourage his return or his stay. But, his

oath and plighted faith, he said, was of more weight with him, than the fear or tortures or death. He was immovably fixed, refused to see his wife and children, and embarked and returned in the same company he came in. Upon his arrival, the Carthaginians incensed against him, caused him (as it is said) to be tormented to death, by cutting off his eye-lids, placing him erect on his feet in a narrow wooden case drove full of sharp spikes with their points towards his body ; that he should not lean, sleep, or rest, without running upon them ; and exposing him in that condition with his face turned all day to the sun, till he expired. This account of his death, or the substance of it, we have from Cicero in another place, from Livy (*Argum.* 18. *b.*) Silius Italicus, Appian, Florus, Orosius, Zonaras, and others of the ancients ; and yet some late critics reject it, and treat it only as a fable. Palmerius (Jaques Paumier de Grante-mesnil, a very learned Frenchmen) in his observations upon Appian, I think was the first who modestly proposed his doubt, and gave his reasons from Polybius's silence in the case, who, he says, has largely and prolixly given the history of the first Punic war ; but chiefly from a fragment of the 24th book of Diod. Siculus, an excellent historian, recovered with others in the 17th century by Pieresc, and published by H. Valesius, in which there is this expression in Greek, *'oti 'e meter, &c. That the mother.....of the youths* (that is Regulus's wife and mother of his children) *being deeply affected with her husband's death, and believing he died (d' amelian) for want of care being taken of him,* caused [or advised] her sons to treat the prisoners (Bostar and Hamilcar that were delivered to them) with rigor : which they effectually did, by shutting them up together in a narrow closet without victuals ; so that Bostar died in five days, but Hamilcar continued till the tribunes hearing of it, summoned the young men, and threatening them with death, for so highly dishonoring the state, obliged them to take due care of them ; upon which, throwing all the blame on their mother, they burnt Bostar's body (according to the Roman custom) sent his bones to Carthage to his relations,

and by proper care restored Hamilcar to his health and strength. From which passage in so faithful an historian, Palmerius concludes, that the family of the Atilii (*i. e.* of Regulus) to excuse that barbarity, framed this story of Regulus's death, which, being to the dishonor of the nation they were at war with, and greatly hated, easily obtained credit, and passed afterwards for truth. Which indeed is not improbable. J. le Clerc, in a note on Freinsheimius's *Suppl.* to Livy, (*lib.* 18.) joins in this with Palmerius. But though, for the sake chiefly of this late discovery, I have already dwelt too long on it here; I cannot forbear adding, that Palmerius ought not to have said, that Polybius has given the history of this war largely or prolixly (*fuse ne dicam prolixè*) for he professes to give only a summary account of it, as but preparatory to that of those actions, with which he designed to begin his history: and therefore, though that war continued near twenty-four years, and was, as he himself says, the greatest and most terrible that had ever been known, (the Romans, who had not one large ship when it began, having lost seven hundred of five banks of oars, that is, of three hundred rowers each, and the Carthaginians five hundred such, besides vast numbers of others; and, as near as I can judge, not less than three hundred thousand men on each side;) yet Polybius bestows but about two-thirds of his first book upon the whole. Livy gave it four books, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth inclusive; but these, with all the rest of his second decad, from eleven to twenty, are lost, and only the arguments saved. Appian's history of it is also lost, and he only barely mentions it, with Regulus's death, in his beginning of their third war. Diodor. Siculus's account of it is also lost; for of his forty books we have but fifteen, with that fragment mentioned before, and some other few scraps. Of Polybius's forty books, there remain but five whole, with some excerpts of twelve more, and some other fragments. Of Livy's one hundred and forty books there remain but thirty-five, *i. e.* from one to ten, and from twenty-one to forty-five; but Freinsheimius has given us excellent supplements of the

rest. Of Appian's twenty-four volumes of the Roman wars there are about eight or nine left, for their divisions are uncertain. So that a great part of the Roman history, and particularly of this great war, excepting what Polybius has given, as mentioned above, is to be picked out only from certain scattered hints in other old authors, or from epitomes, as Florus, Eutropius, Justin, and such like: but there is nothing mentioned in any part of these notes, but what is taken from the original authors themselves. When or how Bostar and Hamilcar were taken, I find [?]nothing, nor their captivity mentioned, but in that fragment of Diodore. They were committed to the charge of Regulus's family, as a pledge for him, as he was a captive at Carthage.

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97 Cneius Cornelius Scipio and Publius Corn. Scipio, two brothers, sons of Cneius C. Scipio, in the year of Rome five hundred and forty-one, the seventh of the second Carthaginian war, and two hundred and twelve before Christ, were at the head of the Roman forces in Spain, to defend their dominions and allies, and oppose the Carthaginians, who had three armies there, commanded by Mago, Gisco's son, and Asdrubal; which last resolving to march with large reinforcements, to join his brother Annibal in Italy, by the same route through Gaul, and over the Alps, that Annibal before had taken; the two Scipios thought it incumbent on them, at any hazard to prevent him; and they thought themselves strong enough to effect it, by the help of auxiliaries they had raised: these were thirty thousand Celtiberians, on whom they chiefly relied. But the brothers dividing their forces, and sending these Spaniards to march before them; Asdrubal, falling in with their leaders, found means to persuade them to disband, and return home. Thus denuded, they were exceedingly distressed, but by none more than Masinissa, then a young man, and in the Carthaginian interest; who was afterwards so staunch a friend to the Romans, and particularly to Scipio Africanus, son to Publius, one of these brothers [see his story in note

58.] Publius, entering on a desperate action, he and his whole army were cut off: and Cneius, before he knew any thing of his brothers, had much the same fate. Yet some of the Roman forces escaped. Marcius, a single Roman knight, of no name or character before, rallied these, and did such wonders with them, that I know nothing in the Roman history, that exceeds his actions and conduct. Livy, *b. 25.*

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98 Lucius Paulus Æmilius, father to L. Paulus Æmilius in note 24. He was consul in the five hundred and thirty-seventh year of Rome, the second of the same war, with Caius Terentius Varro, a plebeian, raised to that dignity by the fury of the commons and their tribunes, who exclaimed against all the Patrician order or nobility, as if they were fond of continuing the war. Paulus, a man of excellent conduct and great experience, finding how unequally he was mated, did all he could to temper and moderate his colleague's rashness, but in vain. Annibal well knowing Varro's character, and as well how to manage him, for some time played with him to raise his impatience, and then gave him battle, near the village Cannæ in Apulia, in which, Polybius says, seventy thousand of the Roman army fell, with both the consuls of the last year. Livy says, there were killed twenty-one tribunes of war, and eighty of the senatorial rank. Paulus having his horse killed, was offered another after the defeat to escape; but, though the battle was fought against his advice, he disdained to survive the loss: he chose to die fighting; while Terentius, whose rashness was the cause of it, saved himself by flight, accompanied only with seventy horse to Venusia; the town where Horace, one hundred and fifty-two years after was born.

99 Marcus Claudius Marcellus was five times consul, the first in the year five hundred and thirty-two. He was a most excellent general, and the first who gave the Romans a conviction that Annibal could be beat. It was he who took Syracuse, after a siege of three years; the great

mathematician, Archimedes, having so long defended it by his astonishing engines. He was generally successful in what he undertook, and this probably led him to the last action of his life, which was too rash : for, in his fifth consulate, in the five hundred and forty-fifth year of Rome, two hundred and eight before Christ, being with the army in Apulia, encamped a few miles from that of Annibal, he rode out with his colleague Crispinus, who was also there, and a guard of two hundred and twenty horse, to view a hill that lay between the two camps, with a design to possess and fortify it, But Annibal, who was never wanting for a contrivance, had placed an ambush of about two thousand men below it. These surrounding the consuls, and the few that stayed with them, (for most of their men fled) Marcellus, as he was courageously defending himself, was pierced with a lance, and died : Crispinus and Marcellus' son escaped grievously wounded. Annibal on finding his body, caused it (according to custom) to be burnt, and sent his bones and ashes in a silver urn to his son, as Plutarch says, who has given us his life : but he quotes Valerius Maximus and Livy, for what is not to be found in their books, as we now have them ; though we have the passages in both, that mention this act of humanity in Annibal, viz. Valerius Maximus, *b. 5. c. 1.* and Livy, *lib. 27. c. 28.* for neither of them say any thing of sending away the bones.

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100 Instances of this are to be found in Livy, particularly when A. Attilius Calatinus (mentioned in note 86) in the first punic war, was leading the Roman army, from Mutistratum in Sicily, which they had most barbarously destroyed, to the siege of Camarina, they fell in their march into such a disadvantageous situation, and were so surrounded by the Carthaginian army, that it appeared impossible for them to avoid either being all taken, or all cut to pieces, till M. Calphurnius Flamma, a tribune, with three hundred men, whom he led on with these words, "Come, soldiers, let us march on and die, and by our deaths save the rest of the army," took possession of a hill,

where they alone kept the enemy so long employed, before they could quite vanquish and destroy them, that the main body found means to retreat. All the three hundred; it is said, fell there; but Flamma was found with some life left, and recovered. Another instance was, when in the war with the Samnites, P. Decius Mus, one of those who devoted themselves (as in not 68) to save the Roman army, acted the same part, but with better fortune; for their enemies were so astonished at the attempt, that they both let the army retreat, and these people also escape. The story is in Livy, *lib. 7. c. 34.* &c. and both these passages are mentioned in Manlius' speech against redeeming the Roman captives taken at Cannæ, Livy, *lib. 22. 60.*

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101 They resided in the south-east parts of Italy, formerly called Magna Græcia, or great Greece, now the kingdom of Naples. The people were from Greece, and spoke that language.

102 In Plato's Phædon, now in English.

RULES FOR A CLUB FORMERLY ESTABLISHED IN PHILADELPHIA.

Previous question, to be answered at every meeting.

HAVE you read over these queries this morning, in order to consider what you might have to offer the Junto touching any one of them? viz.

1. Have you met with any thing, in the author you last read, remarkâble, or suitable to be communicated to the Junto? particularly in history, morality, poetry, physick, travels, mechanic arts, or other parts of knowledge.

2. What new story have you lately heard agreeable for telling in conversation?

¹ This was an early performance, and carries along with it an air of singularity accompanied with such operative good sense and philanthropy, as is characteristic of Dr. Franklin. The club, for which it was written, was held in Philadelphia; and, was composed of men considerable for their influence and discretion; for though the chief measures of Pennsylvania usually received their first formation in this club, it existed for thirty years without the nature of its institution being publicly known. This club gave origin to the American Philosophical Society now existing, of which Thomas Jefferson is President.

Hath any citizen in your knowlege failed in his business lately, and what have you heard of the cause?

4. Have you lately heard of any citizen's thriving well, and by what means?

5. Have you lately heard how any present rich man, here or elsewhere, got his estate?

6. Do you know of any fellow-citizen, who has lately done a worthy action, deserving praise and imitation? or who has lately committed an error, proper for us to be warned against and avoid?

7. What unhappy effects of intemperance have you lately observed or heard? of imprudence? of passion? or of any other vice or folly?

8. What happy effects of temperance? of prudence? of moderation? or of any other virtue?

9. Have you or any of your acquaintance been lately sick or wounded? If so, what remedies were used, and what were their effects?

10. Who do you know that are shortly going voyages or journies, if one should have occasion to send by them?

11. Do you think of any thing at present, in which the Junto may be serviceable to *mankind*? to their country, to their friends, or to themselves?

12. Hath any deserving stranger arrived in town since last meeting; that you heard of? and what have you heard or observed of his character or merits? and whether think you, it lies in the power of the Junto to oblige him, or encourage him as he deserves?

13. Do you know of any deserving young beginner lately set up, whom it lies in the power of the Junto any way to encourage?

14. Have you lately observed any defect in the laws of your *country*, of which it would be proper to move the legislature for an amendment? or do you know of any beneficial law that is wanting?

15. Have you lately observed any encroachment on the just liberties of the people?

16. Hath any body attacked your reputation lately? and what can the Junto do towards securing it?

17. Is there any man whose friendship you want, and which the Junto, or any of them, can procure for you?

18. Have you lately heard any member's character attacked, and how have you defended it?

19. Hath any man injured you, from whom it is in the power of the Junto to procure redress?

20. In what manner can the Junto, or any of them, assist you in any of your honorable designs?

21. Have you any weighty affair in hand, in which you think the advice of the Junto may be of service?

22. What benefits have you lately received from any man not present?

23. Is there any difficulty in matters of opinion, of justice, and injustice, which you would gladly have discussed at this time?

24. Do you see anything amiss in the present customs or proceedings of the Junto, which might be amended?

Any person to be qualified, to stand up, and lay his hand on his breast, and be asked these questions, viz.

1. Have you any particular disrespect to any present members?—*Answer.* I have not.

2. Do you sincerely declare, that you love mankind in general; of what profession or religion soever? *Answer.* I do.

3. Do you think any person ought to be harmed in his body, name, or goods, for mere speculative opinions, or his external way of worship?—*Answer.* No.

4. Do you love truth for truth's sake, and will you endeavor impartially to find and receive it yourself and communicate it to others?—*Answer.* Yes.

Questions discussed by the Club.³

Is *sound* an entity or body?

How may of the phenomena of vapors be explained?

² *Queries* No. 7 and 8 follow here, in the original.

³ These questions are from the Eulogium of Dr. Franklin, delivered before the American Philosophical Society, in 1791, of which the Junto was the foundation. On the formation of that society, a book, containing many of the

Is self-interest the rudder that steers mankind, the universal monarch to whom all are tributaries?

Which is the best form of government, and what was that form which first prevailed among mankind?

Can any one particular form of government suit all mankind?

What is the reason that the tides rise higher in the Bay of Fundy, than the Bay of Delaware?

Is the emission of paper-money safe?

What is the reason that men of the greatest knowledge are not the most happy?

How may the possessions of the Lakes be improved to our advantage?

Why are tumultuous, uneasy sensations, united with our desires?

Whether ought to be the aim of philosophy to eradicate the passions?

How may smoaky chimnies be best cured?

Why does the flame of a candle tend upwards in a spire?

Which is least criminal, a *bad* action joined with a *good* intention, or a *good* action with a *bad* intention?

Is it inconsistent with the principles of liberty in a free government, to punish a man as a libeller, when he speaks the truth?

SKETCH OF AN ENGLISH SCHOOL,

For the Consideration of the Trustees of the Philadelphia Academy.

IT is expected that every scholar, to be admitted into this school, be at least able to pronounce and divide the syllables in reading, and to write a legible hand. None to be received, that are under years of age.

First, or lowest Class.

Let the first class learn the English Grammar rules, and at the same time let particular care be taken to improve

questions discussed by the Junta, was delivered into Dr. Smith's hands, for the purpose of being digested, and in due time published among the transactions of that body. Many of the questions Dr. Smith observes, are curious and curiously handled, and he selects the above as answering the description.

them in orthography. Perhaps the latter is best done by pairing the scholars: two of those nearest equal in their spelling to be put together. Let these strive for victory; each propounding ten words every day to the other to be spelled. He that spells truly most of the other's words is victor for that day; he that is victor most days in a month, to obtain a prize, a pretty neat book of some kind, useful in their future studies. This method fixes the attention of children extremely to the orthography of words, and makes them good spellers very early. It is a shame for a man to be so ignorant of this little art, in his own language, as to be perpetually confounding words of like sound and different significations; the consciousness of which defect makes some men, otherwise of good learning and understanding, averse to writing even a common letter.

Let the pieces read by the scholars in this class be short; such as Croxall's fables, and little stories. In giving the lesson, let it be read to them; let the meaning of the difficult words in it be explained to them; and let them cover by themselves before they are called to read to the master or usher, who is to take particular care, that they do not read too fast, and that they duly observe the stops and pauses. A vocabulary of the most usual difficult words might be formed for their use, with explanations; and they might daily get a few of those words and explanations by heart, which would a little exercise their memories; or at least they might write a number of them in a small book for the purpose, which would help to fix the meaning of those words in their minds, and at the same time furnish every one with a little dictionary for his future use.

The Second Class

To be taught reading with attention, and with proper modulations of the voice, according to the sentiment and the subject.

Some short pieces, not exceeding the length of a Spectator, to be given this class for lessons (and some of the easier

Spectators would be suitable for the purpose). These lessons might be given every night as tasks; the scholars to study them against the morning. Let it then be required of them to give an account, first of the parts of speech, and construction of one or two sentences. This will oblige them to recur frequently to their grammar, and fix its principal rules in their memory. Next, of the intention of the writer, or the scope of the piece, the meaning of each sentence, and of every uncommon word. This would early acquaint them with the meaning and force of words, and give them that most necessary habit, of reading with attention.

The master then to read the piece with the proper modulations of voice, due emphasis, and suitable action, where action is required; and put the youth on imitating his manner.

Where the author has used an expression not the best, let it be pointed out; and let his beauties be particularly remarked to the youth.

Let the lessons for reading be varied, that the youth may be made acquainted with good styles of all kinds, in prose and verse, and the proper manner of reading each kind—sometimes a well told story, a piece of a sermon, a general's speech to his soldiers, a speech in a tragedy, some part of a comedy, an ode, a satire, a letter, blank verse, Hudibrastic, heroic, &c. But let such lessons be chosen for reading, as contain some useful instruction, whereby the understanding or morals of the youth may at the same time be improved.

It is required that they should first study and understand the lessons, before they are put upon reading them properly; to which end each boy should have an English dictionary, to help him over difficulties. When our boys read English to us, we are apt to imagine they understand what they read, because we do, and because it is their mother tongue. But they often read, as parrots speak, knowing little or nothing of the meaning. And it is impossible a

reader should give the due modulation to his voice, and pronounce properly, unless his understanding goes before his tongue, and makes him master of the sentiment. Accustoming boys to read aloud what they do not first understand, is the cause of those, even set tones so common among readers, which, when they have once got a habit of using, they find so difficult to correct: by which means, among fifty readers we scarcely find a good one. For want of good reading, pieces published with a view to influence the minds of men, for their own or the public benefit, lose half their force. Were there but one good reader in a neighborhood, a public orator might be heard throughout a nation with the same advantages, and have the same effect upon his audience, as if they stood within the reach of his voice.

The Third Class

To be taught speaking proper and gracefully; which is near a-kin to good reading, and naturally follows it in the studies of youth. Let the scholars of this class begin with learning the elements of rhetoric from some short system, so as to be able to give an account of the most useful tropes and figures. Let all their bad habits of speaking, all offences against good grammar, all corrupt or foreign accents, and all improper phrases, be pointed out to him. Short speeches from the Roman, or other history, or from the legislative debates, might be got by heart, and delivered with the proper action, &c. Speeches and scenes in our best tragedies and comedies (avoiding every thing, that could injure the morals of youth) might likewise be got by rote, and the boys exercised in delivering or acting them; great care being taken to form their manner after the truest models.

For their farther improvement, and a little to vary their studies, let them now begin to read history, after having got by heart a short table of the principal epochs in chronology. They may begin with Rollin's ancient and Roman histories, and proceed at proper hours, as they go through the subsequent classes, with the best histories of

our own nation and colonies. Let emulation be excited among the boys, by giving, weekly, little prizes, or other small encouragements to those, who are able to give the best account of what they have read, as to time, places, names of persons, &c. This will make them read with attention, and imprint the history well on their memories. In remarking on the history, the master will have fine opportunities of instilling instruction of various kinds, and improving the morals, as well as the understandings, of youth.

The natural and mechanic history, contained in the *Spectacle de la Nature*, might also be begun in this class, and continued through the subsequent classes, by other books of the same kind; for, next to the knowledge of duty, this kind of knowledge is certainly the most useful, as well as the most entertaining. The merchant may thereby be enabled better to understand many commodities in trade; the handicraftsman, to improve his business by new instruments, mixtures and materials; and frequently hints are given for new manufactures, or new methods of improving land, that may be set on foot greatly to the advantage of a country.

The Fourth Class

To be taught composition. Writing one's own language well, is the next necessary accomplishment after good speaking. It is the writing-master's business, to take care that the boys make fair characters, and place them straight and even in the lines: but to form their style, and even to take care that the stops and capitals are properly disposed, is the part of the English master. The boys should be taught to write letters to each other on any common occurrences, and on various subjects, imaginary business, &c. containing little stories, accounts of their late reading, what parts of authors please them, and why; letters of congratulation, of compliment, of request, of thanks, of recommendation, of admonition, of consolation, of expostulation, excuse, &c. In these, they should be taught to express themselves clearly, concisely, and naturally, without affected words or high-flown phrases. All their letters to pass through

the master's hand, who is to point out the faults, advise the corrections, and commend what he finds right. Some of the best letters published in our own language, as Sir William Temple's, those of Pope and his friends, and some others, might be set before the youth as models, their beauties pointed out and explained by the master, the letters themselves transcribed by the scholar.

Dr. Johnson's *Ethices Elementa*, or *First Principles of Morality*, may now be read by the scholar, and explained by the master, to lay a solid foundation of virtue and piety in their minds. And as this class continues the reading of history, let them now, at proper hours, receive some farther instruction in chronology, and in that part of geography (from the mathematical master) which is necessary to understand the maps and globes. They should also be acquainted with the modern names of the places they find mentioned in ancient writers. The exercises of good reading, and proper speaking, still continued at suitable times.

Fifth Class

To improve the youth in composition, they may now, besides continuing to write letters, begin to write little essays in prose, and sometimes in verse; not to make them poets, but for this reason, that nothing acquaints a lad so speedily with variety of expression, as the necessity of finding such words and phrases as will suit the measure, sound and rhyme of verse, and at the same time well express the sentiment. These essays should all pass under the master's eye, who will point out their faults, and put the writer on correcting them. Where the judgment is not ripe enough for forming new essays, let the sentiments of a *Spectator* be given, and required to be clothed in the scholar's own words; or the circumstances of some good story, the scholar to find expression. Let them be put sometimes on abridging a paragraph of a diffuse author: sometimes on dilating or amplifying what is wrote more closely. And now let Dr. Johnson's *Noetica*, or *First Principles of Human Knowledge*, containing a logic, or art of reasoning, &c. be read by the youth, and the difficulties, that may occur to

them, be explained by the master. The reading of history, and the exercises of good reading and just speaking still continued.

Sixth Class.

In this class, besides continuing the studies of the preceding in history, rhetoric, logic, moral and natural philosophy, the best English authors may be read and explained; as Tillotson, Milton, Locke, Addison, Pope, Swift, the higher papers in the Spectator and Guardian, the best translations of Homer, Virgil, and Horace, of Telemachus, Travels of Cyrus, &c.

Once a year, let there be public exercises in the hall; the trustees and citizens present. Then let fine bound books be given as prizes to such boys, as distinguish themselves, and excel the others in any branch of learning, making three degrees of comparison: giving the best prize to him, that performs best; a less valuable one to him, that comes up next to the best, and another to the third. Commendations, encouragement, and advice to the rest; keeping up their hopes, that, by industry, they may excel another time. The names of those, that obtain the prize, to be yearly printed in a list.

The hours of each day are to be divided and disposed in such a manner, as that some classes may be with the writing-master, improving their hands; others with the mathematical master, learning arithmetic, accounts, geography, use of the globes, drawing, mechanics, &c. while the rest are in the English school, under the English master's care.

Thus instructed, youth will come out of this school fitted for learning any business, calling, or profession, except such wherein languages are required: and, though unacquainted with any ancient or foreign tongue, they will be masters of their own, which is of more immediate and general use, and withal will have attained many other valuable accomplishments: the time usually spent in acquiring those languages, often without success, being here employed in laying such a foundation of knowledge and ability, as, properly improved, may qualify them to pass through and ex-

ecute the several offices of civil life, with advantage and reputation to themselves and country.

THE following paper, and those that succeed it in this volume, are now first published in the collection of Dr. Franklin's writings. The authority for their publication is that of the author. In the two first volumes of the Pennsylvania Gazette, which are in the possession of the Philadelphia Editor, these pieces are noted on the inner side of the cover, in pencil writing, which writing is that of the author.....The works are—" *Pieces written by B. F.*" and the several articles are there stated by their titles, with a reference to the number of the paper in which each was first published. The following paper is from the Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 404, of Nov. 18, 1736.

THE WASTE OF LIFE.

ANERGUS was a gentleman of a good estate, he was bred to no business, and could not contrive how to waste his hours agreeably; he had no relish for any of the proper works of life, nor any taste at all for the improvements of the mind; he spent generally ten hours of the four and twenty in his bed; he dozed away two or three more on his couch, and as many were dissolved in good liquor every evening, if he met with company of his own humor. Five or six of the rest he sauntered away with much indolence: the chief business of them was to contrive his meals, and to feed his fancy before-hand, with the promise of a dinner and supper; not that he was so very a glutton, or so intirely devoted to appetite; but chiefly because he knew not how to employ his thoughts better, he let them rove about the sustenance of his body. Thus he had made a shift to wear off ten years since the paternal estate fell into his hands: and yet according to the abuse of words in our day, he was called a man of virtue, because he was scarce ever known to be quite drunk, nor was his nature much inclined to lewdness.

One evening as he was musing alone, his thoughts happened to take a most unusual turn, for they cast a glance backward, and began to reflect on his manner of life. He bethought himself what a number of living beings had been made a sacrifice to support his carcase, and how much corn

and wine had been mingled with those offerings. He had not quite lost all the arithmetic that he learned when he was a boy, and he set himself to compute what he had devoured since he came to the age of man.

“About a dozen feathered creatures, small and great have one week with another (said he) given up their lives to prolong mine, which in ten years amounts to at least six thousand.

“Fifty sheep have been sacrificed in a year, with half a hecatomb of black cattle, that I might have the choicest part offered weekly upon my table. Thus a thousand beasts out of the flock and the herd have been slain in ten years time to feed me, besides what the forest has supplied me with. Many hundreds of fishes have in all their varieties, been robbed of life for my repast, and of the smaller fry as many thousands.

“A measure of corn would hardly afford fine flour enough for a month’s provision, and this arises to above six score bushels; and many hogsheads of ale and wine, and other liquors, have passed through this body of mine, this wretched strainer of meat and drink.

“And what have I done all this time for God or *man*? What a vast profusion of good things upon an useless life, and a worthless liver? There is not the meanest creature among all these which I have devoured, but hath answered the end of its creation better than I. It was made to support human nature, and it hath done so. Every crab and oyster I have eat, and every grain of corn I have devoured, hath filled up its place in the rank of beings with more propriety and honor than I have done: O shameful waste of life and time!”

In short, he carried on his moral reflections with so just and severe a force of reason, as constrained him to change his whole course of life, to break off his follies at once, and to apply himself to gain some useful knowledge, when he was more than thirty years of age; he lived many following years, with the character of a worthy man, and an excellent Christian; he performed the kind offices of a good

neighbor at home, and made a shining figure as a patriot in the senate-house, he died with a peaceful conscience, and the tears of his country were dropped upon his tomb.

The world, that knew the whole series of his life, stood amazed at the mighty change. They beheld him as a wonder of reformation, while he himself confessed and adored the divine power and mercy, which had transformed him from a brute to a man.

But this was a single instance ; and we may almost venture to write MIRACLE upon it. Are there not numbers of both sexes among our young gentry, in this degenerate age, whose lives thus run to utter waste, without the least tendency to usefulness.

When I meet with persons of such a worthless character as this, it brings to my mind some scraps of Horace,

Nos numerus sumus, & fruges consumere nati.
 *Alcinoique Juvencus*
Cui pulchrum fuit in Medios dormire dies, &c.

PARAPHRASE.

There are a number of us creep
 Into this world, to eat and sleep ;
 And know no reason why they're born,
 But merely to consume the corn,
 Devour the cattle, fowl, and fish,
 And leave behind an empty dish :
 Tho' crows and ravens do the same,
 Unlucky birds of hateful name ;
 Ravens or crows might fill their places,
 And swallow corn and carcasses.
 Then, if their tomb-stone when they die,
 Ben't taught to flatter and to lie,
 There's nothing better will be said,
Than that the've eat up all their bread,
Drank up all their drink, and gone to bed. }

There are other fragments of that heathen poet, which occur on such occasions ; one in the first of his satires, the other in the last of his epistles, which seem to represent life only as a season of luxury.

. *Exacto contentus tempore vite*
Cedat uti conviva satur.
Lusisti satus, edisti satis atque bibisti ;
Tempus abire tibi.

Which may be thus put into English.

Life's but a feast ; and when we die
 Horace would say, if he were by,
 Friend, thou hast eat and drank enough,
 'Tis time now to be marching off :
 Then like a well-fed guest depart,
 With cheerful looks, and ease at heart ;
 Bid all your friends good night, and say,
You've done the business of the day.

THAT SELF-DENIAL IS NOT THE ESSENCE OF VIRTUE.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 324, Feb. 18, 1735.

IT is commonly asserted that without self-denial there is no virtue, and that the greater the self-denial, the greater the virtue.

If it were said, that he who cannot deny himself any thing he inclines to, though he knows it will be to his hurt, has not the virtue of resolution or fortitude, it would be intelligible enough, but as it stands it seems obscure or erroneous.

Let us consider some of the virtues singly.

If a man has no inclination to wrong people in his dealings, if he feels no temptation to it, and therefore never does it ; can it be said that he is not a just man ? If he is a just man, has he not the virtue of justice ?

If to a certain man, idle diversions have nothing in them that is tempting, and therefore he never relaxes his application to business, for their sake ; is he not an industrious man ? Or, has he not the virtue of industry ?

I might in like manner instance in all the rest of the virtues ; but, to make the thing short, as it is certain, that the more we strive against the temptation to any vice, and practise the contrary virtue, the weaker will that temptation be, and the stronger will be that habit, till at length the temptation has no force, or entirely vanishes ; does it follow from thence, that in our endeavors to overcome vice, we grow continually less and less virtuous, till a length we have no virtue at all.

If self-denial be the essence of virtue, then it follows, that the man, who is naturally temperate, just, &c. is not

virtuous; that but in order to be virtuous, he must in spite of his natural inclinations, wrong his neighbors, and eat and drink, &c. to excess.

But perhaps it may be said, that by the word virtue in the above assertion, is meant merit; and so it should stand thus: without self-denial there is no merit, and the greater the self-denial, the greater the merit.

The self-denial here meant, must be when our inclinations are towards vice, or else it would still be nonsense.

By merit, is understood desert, and when we say a man merits, we mean that he deserves praise or reward.

We do not pretend to merit any thing of God, for he is above our services; and the benefits he confers on us, are the effects of his goodness and bounty.

All our merit then is with regard to one another, and from one to another.

Taking then the assertion as it last stands.

If a man does me service from a natural benevolent inclination, does he deserve less of me than another, who does me the like kindness against his inclination.

If I have two journeymen, one naturally industrious, the other idle, but both perform a day's work equally good, ought I to give the latter the most wages?

Indeed lazy workmen are commonly observed to be more extravagant in their demands than the industrious, for if they have not more for their work, they cannot live as well; but though it be true to a proverb, that lazy folks take the most pains; does it follow that they deserve the most money.

If you were to employ servants in affairs of trust, would you not bid more for one you knew was naturally honest, than for one naturally roguish, but who have lately acted honestly, for currents whose natural channel is dammed up, till the new course is by time worn sufficiently deep, and become natural, are apt to break their banks. If one servant is more valuable than another, has he not more merit than the other? and yet this is not on account of superior self-denial.

Is a patriot not praise-worthy, if public spirit is natural to him?

Is a pacing horse less valuable for being a natural pacer?

Nor in my opinion, has any man less merit for having in general natural virtuous inclinations.

The truth is, that temperance, justice, charity, &c. are virtues, whither practised with, or against our inclinations, and the man who practises them, merits our love and esteem; and self-denial is neither good nor bad, but as it is applied; he that denies a vicious inclination, is virtuous in proportion to his resolution, but the most perfect virtue is above all temptation, such as the virtue of the saints in heaven, and he who does a foolish, indecent, or wicked thing, merely because it is contrary to his inclination (like some mad enthusiasts I have read of who ran about naked, under the notion of taking up the cross) is not practising the reasonable science of virtue, but is a lunatic.

ON TRUE HAPPINESS.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 363, Nov. 20, 1735.

THE desire of happiness in general is so natural to us, that all the world are in pursuit of it; all have this one end in view, though they take such different methods to attain it, and are so much divided in their notions of it.

Evil, as evil, can never be chosen; and though evil is often the effect of our own choice, yet we never desire it, but under the appearance of an imaginary good.

Many things we indulge ourselves in, may be considered by us as evils, and yet be desirable; but then they are only considered as evils in their effects and consequences, not as evils at present, and attended with immediate misery.

Reason represents things to us, not only as they are at present, but as they are in their whole nature, and tendency; passion only regards them in their former light; when this governs us, we are regardless of the future, and are only affected with the present.

It is impossible ever to enjoy ourselves rightly, if our conduct be not such, as to preserve the harmony and order of our faculties, and the original frame and constitution of

Our minds; all true happiness, as all that is truly beautiful, can only result from order.

Whilst there is a conflict betwixt the two principles of passion and reason, we must be miserable in proportion to the struggle, and when the victory is gained, and reason so far subdued, as seldom to trouble us with its remonstrances; the happiness we have then, is not the happiness of our rational nature, but the happiness only of the inferior and sensual part of us, and consequently, a very low and imperfect happiness, to what the other would have afforded us.

If we reflect upon any one passion and disposition of mind, abstract from virtue, we shall soon see the disconnection between that, and true solid happiness. It is of the very essence, for instance, of envy to be uneasy and disquieted. Pride meets with provocations and disturbances, upon almost every occasion. Covetousness is ever attended with solicitude and anxiety. Ambition has its disappointments to sour us, but never the good fortune to satisfy us; its appetite grows the keener by indulgence, and all we can gratify it with at present, serves but the more to inflame its insatiable desires.

The passions by being too much conversant with earthly objects, can never fix in us a proper composure and acquiescence of mind. Nothing but an indifference to the things of this world; an entire submission to the will of Providence here, and a well grounded expectation of happiness hereafter, can give us a true satisfactory enjoyment of ourselves. Virtue is the best guard against the many unavoidable evils incident to us; nothing better alleviates the weight of the afflictions, or gives a truer relish of the blessings of human life.

What is without us, has not the least connection with happiness, only so far as the preservation of our lives and health depends upon it. Health of body, though so far necessary, that we cannot be perfectly happy without it, is not sufficient to make us happy of itself. Happiness springs immediately from the mind; health is but to be considered as

a candidate or circumstance, without which this happiness cannot be tasted, pure and unabated.

Virtue is the best preservative of health, as it prescribes temperance, and such a regulation of our passions, as is most conducive to the well-being of the animal economy, so that it is, at the same time, the only true happiness of the mind, and the best means of preserving the health of the body.

If our desires are to the things of this world, they are never to be satisfied; if our great view is upon those of the next, the expectation of them is an infinitely higher satisfaction, than the enjoyment of those of the present.

There is no happiness then, but in a virtuous, and self-approving conduct, unless our actions will bear the test of our sober judgments, and reflections upon them, they are not the actions, and consequently not the happiness of a rational being.

ON DISCOVERIES.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 409, Oct. 14, 1736.

THE world but a few ages since, was in a very poor condition, as to trade and navigation, nor indeed, were they much better in other matters of useful knowlege. It was a green-headed time, every useful improvement was hid from them, they had neither looked into heaven, nor earth, into the sea, nor land, as has been done since. They had philosophy without experiments, mathematics without instruments, geometry without scale, astronomy without demonstration.

They made war without powder, shot, cannon, or mortars; nay, the mob made their bon-fires without squibs, or crackers. They went to sea, without compass, and sailed without the needle. They viewed the stars, without telescopes, and measured latitudes without observation. Learning had no printing-press, writing no paper, and paper no ink; the lover was forced to send his mistress a deal board for a love letter, and a billet doux might be about the size of an ordinary trencher. They were clothed without manufacture, and their richest robes were the skins of the

most formidable monsters ; they carried on trade without books, and correspondence without posts ; their merchants kept no accounts, their shop-keepers no cash books, they had surgery without anatomy, and physicians without the *materia medica*, they gave emetics without ipecacuanha, drew blisters without cantharides, and cured agues without the bark.

As for geographical discoveries, they had neither seen the North Cape, nor the Cape of Good Hope south. All the discovered inhabited world, which they knew and conversed with, was circumscribed within very narrow limits, viz. France, Britain, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Greece ; the lesser Asia, the west part of Persia, Arabia, the north parts of Africa, and the islands of the Mediterranean sea, and this was the whole world to them ; not that even these countries were fully known neither, and several parts of them not enquired into at all. Germany was known little farther than the banks of the Elbe ; Poland as little beyond the Vistula, or Hungary a little beyond the Danube ; Muscovy or Russia, perfectly unknown as much as China beyond it, and India only by a little commerce upon the coast, about Surat and Malabar ; Africa had been more unknown, but by the ruin of the Carthaginians, all the western coast of it was sunk out of knowledge again, and forgotten ; the northern coast of Africa, in the Mediterranean, remained known, and that was all, for the Saracens over-running the nations, which were planted there, ruined commerce, as well as religion ; the Baltic Sea was not discovered, nor even the navigation of it known ; for the Teutonic knights came not thither till the 13th century.

America was not heard of, nor so much as a suggestion in the minds of men, that any part of the world lay that way. The coasts of Greenland, or Spitsbergen, and the whale fishing, not known ; the best navigators, in the world, at that time, would have fled from a whale, with much more fright and horror, than from the devil, in the most terrible shapes they had been told he appeared in.

The coasts of Angola, Congo, the Gold and the Grain coasts, on the west side of Africa, from whence, since that time, such immense wealth has been drawn, not discovered, nor the least inquiry made after them. All the East India and China trade, not only undiscovered, but out of the reach of expectation! Coffee and tea, (those modern blessings of mankind) had never been heard of: all the unbounded ocean, we now call the South Sea, was hid, and unknown: all the Atlantic Ocean, beyond the mouth of the Straights, was frightful, and terrible in the distant prospect; nor durst any one peep into it, otherwise than as they might creep along the coast of Africa, towards Sallee, or Santa Cruz. The North Seas was hid in a veil of impenetrable darkness; the White Sea, or Arch Angel, was a very modern discovery; not found out, till Sir Hugh Willoughby doubled the North Cape, and paid dear for the adventure, being frozen to death with all his crew, on the coast of Lapland; while his companions ship, with the famous Mr. Chancellor, went on to the Gulph of Russia, called the White Sea where no Christian strangers had ever been before him.

In these narrow circumstances stood the world's knowledge at the beginning of the 15th century, when men of genius began to look abroad, and about them. Now, as it was wonderful to see a world so full of people, and people so capable of improving, yet so stupid, and so blind, so ignorant, and so perfectly unimproved; it was wonderful to see, with what a general alacrity they took the alarm, almost all together; preparing themselves as it were on a sudden, by a general inspiration, to spread knowledge through the earth, and to search into every thing, that it was impossible to uncover.

How surprising is it to look back, so little a way behind us, and see, that even in less than two hundred years, all this (now so self-wise) part of the world did not so much as know, whether there was any such place, as a Russia, a China, a Guinea, a Greenland, or a North Cape? That as to America, it was never supposed, there was any such

place, neither had the world, though they stood upon the shoulders of four thousand years experience, the least thought, so much as that there was any land that way!

As they were ignorant of places, so of things also; so vast are the improvements of science, that all our knowledge of mathematics, of nature, of the brightest part of human wisdom, had their admission among us within these two last centuries.

What was the world then, before? And to what were the heads and hands of mankind applied? The rich had no commerce, the poor no employment; war and the sword was the great field of honor, the stage of preferment, and you have scarce a man eminent in the world, for any thing before that time, but for a furious outrageous falling upon his fellow-creatures, like Nimrod, and his successors of modern memory.

The world is now daily encreasing in experimental knowledge; and let no man flatter the age, with pretending we have arrived to a perfection of discoveries.

What's now discovered, only serves to show,
That nothing's known, to what is yet to know.

ON THE USEFULNESS OF THE MATHEMATICS.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 360, Oct. 30, 1735.

MATHEMATICS originally signifies any kind of discipline or learning, but now it is taken for that science, which teaches or contemplates whatever is capable of being numbered or measured. That part of the mathematics which relates to numbers only, is called *arithmetic*; and that which is concerned about measure in general, whether length, breadth, motion, force, &c. is called *geometry*.

As to the usefulness of arithmetic, it is well known that no business, commerce, trade, or employment whatsoever, even from the merchant to the shopkeeper, &c. can be managed and carried on, without the assistance of numbers; for by these the trader computes the value of all sorts of goods that he dealeth in, does his business with ease and certainty, and informs himself how matters stand at any

time with respect to men, money, or merchandise, to profit and loss, whether he goes forward or backward, grows richer or poorer. Neither is this science only useful to the merchant, but is reckoned the *primum mobile* (or first mover) of all mundane affairs in general, and is useful for all sorts and degrees of men, from the highest to the lowest.

As to the usefulness of geometry, it is as certain, that no curious art, or mechanic work, can either be invented, improved, or performed, without its assisting principles.

It is owing to this, that astronomers are put into a way of making their observations, coming at the knowledge of the extent of the heavens, the duration of time, the motions, magnitudes, and distances of the heavenly bodies, their situations, positions, risings, settings, aspects, and eclipses; also the measure of seasons, of years, and of ages.

It is by the assistance of this science, that geographers present to our view at once, the magnitude and form of the whole earth, the vast extent of the seas, the divisions of empires, kingdoms, and provinces.

It is by the help of geometry, the ingenious mariner is instructed how to guide a ship through the vast ocean, from one part of the earth to another, the nearest and safest way, and in the shortest time.

By help of this science the architects take their just measures for the structure of buildings, as private houses, churches, palaces, ships, fortifications, &c.

By its help engineers conduct all their works, take the situation and plan of towns, forts and castles, measure their distances from one another, and carry their measure into places that are only accessible to the eye.

From hence also is deduced that admirable art of drawing sun-dials on any plane howsoever situate, and for any part of world, to point out the exact time of the day, sun's declination, altitude, amplitude, azimuth, and other astronomical matters.

By geometry, the surveyor is directed how to draw a map of any country, to divide his lands, and to lay down and plot any piece of ground, and thereby discover the

area in acres, rods and perches. The gauger is instructed how to find the capacities or solid contents of all kinds of vessels, in barrels, gallons, bushels, &c. And the measurer is furnished with rules for finding the areas and contents of superficies and solids, and casting up all manner of workmanship. All these and many more useful arts, too many to be enumerated here, wholly depend upon the afore-said sciences, viz. arithmetic and geometry.

This science is descended from the infancy of the world, the inventors of which were the first propagators of human kind, as Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and divers others.

There has not been any science so much esteemed and honored as this of the mathematics, nor with so much industry and vigilance become the care of great men, and labored in by the potentates of the world, viz. emperors, kings, princes, &c.

Mathematical demonstrations, are a logic of as much or more use, than that commonly learned at schools, serving to a just formation of the mind, enlarging its capacity, and strengthening it so, as to render the same capable of exact reasoning, and discerning truth from falshood in all occurrences, even subjects not mathematical. For which reason it is said, the Egyptians, Persians, and Lacedemonians, seldom elected any new kings, but such as had some knowledge in the mathematics, imagining those who had not, men of imperfect judgments, and unfit to rule and govern.

Though Plato's censure, that those who did not understand the 117th proposition of the 13th book of Euclid's Elements, ought not to be ranked amongst rational creatures, was unreasonable and unjust; yet to give a man the character of universal learning, who is destitute of a competent knowledge in the mathematics, is no less so.

The usefulness of some particular parts of the mathematics in the common affairs of human life, has rendered some knowledge of them very necessary to a great part of mankind, and very convenient to all the rest that are any way conversant beyond the limits of their own particular callings.

Those whom necessity has obliged to get their bread by manual industry, where some degree of art is required to go along with it, and who have had some insight into these studies, have very often found advantages from them sufficient to reward the pains they were at in acquiring them. And whatever may have been imputed to some other studies, under the notion of insignificance and loss of time, yet these, I believe, never caused repentance in any, except it was for their remissness in the prosecution of them.

Philosophers do generally affirm, that human knowledge to be most excellent, which is conversant amongst the most excellent things. What science then can there be, more noble, more excellent, more useful for men, more admirably high and demonstrative, than this of the mathematics.

I shall conclude with what Plato says, *lib. 7.* of his Republic, with regard to the excellence and usefulness of geometry, being to this purpose :

“ Dear Friend....You see then that mathematics are necessary, because by the exactness of the method, we get a habit of using our minds to the best advantage : and it is remarkable, that all men being capable by nature to reason and understand the sciences ; the less acute, by studying this, though useless to them in every other respect, will gain this advantage, that their minds will be improved in reasoning aright ; for no study employs it more, nor makes it susceptible of attention so much ; and these who we find have a mind worth cultivating, ought to apply themselves to this study.”

CAUSES OF EARTHQUAKES.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 470, Dec. 15, 1737.

THE late earthquake felt here, and probably in all the neighboring provinces, have made many people desirous to know what may be the natural cause of such violent concussions, we shall endeavor to gratify their curiosity by giving them the various opinions of the learned on that head.

Here naturalists are divided. Some ascribe them to water, others to fire, and others to air: and all of them with some appearance of reason. To conceive which, it is to be observed, that the earth every where abounds in huge subterraneous caverns, veins and canals, particularly about the roots of mountains: that of these cavities, veins, &c. some are full of water, whence are composed gulphs, abysses, springs, rivulets; and others full of exhalations; and that some parts of the earth are replete with nitre, sulphur, bitumen, vitriol, &c.

This premised, 1. The earth itself may sometimes be the cause of its own shaking; when the roots or basis of some large mass being dissolved, or worn away by a fluid underneath, it sinks into the same; and with its weight, occasions a tremor of the adjacent parts; produces a noise, and frequently an inundation of water.

2. The subterraneous waters may occasion earthquakes, by their overflowing, cutting out new courses, &c. Add, that the water being heated and rarefied by the subterraneous fires, may emit fumes, blasts, &c. which by their action, either on the water or immediately on the earth itself, may occasion great succussions.

3. The air may be the cause of earthquakes: for the air being a collection of fumes and vapors raised from the earth and water; if it be pent up in too narrow viscera of the earth, the subterraneous, or its own native heat, rarefying and expanding it, the force wherewith it endeavors to escape, may shake the earth: hence there arise divers species of earthquakes, according to the different position, quantity, &c. of the imprisoned aura.

Lastly, fire is a principal cause of earthquakes; both as it produces the aforesaid subterraneous aura or vapors; and as this aura, or spirit, from the different matter and composition whereof arise sulphur, bitumen, and other inflammable matters; takes fire, either from some other fire it meets withal, or from its collision against hard bodies, or its intermixture with other fluids; by which means bursting out into a greater compass, the place becomes too narrow for it; so that pressing against it on all sides, the

adjoining parts are shaken; till having made itself a passage, it spends itself in a volcano, or burning mountain.

But to come nearer to the point. Dr. Lister is of opinion, that the material cause of thunder, lightning, and earthquakes, is one and the same, viz. the inflammable breath of the pyrites, which is a substantial sulphur, and takes fire of itself.

The difference between these three terrible phenomena, he takes only to consist in this; that this sulphur, in the former, is fired in the air; and in the latter under ground. Which is a notion that Pliny had long before him: *Quidenim*, says he, *aliud est in terra tremor, quam in nube tonitru?*

This he thinks abundantly indicated by the same sulphurous smell being found in any thing burnt with lightning; and in the waters, &c. cast up in earthquakes, and even in the air before and after them.

Add, that they agree in the manner of the noise; which is carried on, as in a train, fired; the one rolling and rattling through the air, takes fire as the vapors chance to drive; as the other fired under ground, in like manner, moves with a desultory noise.

Thunder, which is the effect of the trembling of the air, caused by the same vapors dispersed through it, has force enough to shake our houses; and why may not there be thunder and lightning under ground, in some vast repositories there, I see no reason. Especially if we reflect, that the matter which composes the noisy vapor above us, is in much larger quantities under ground.

That the earth abounds in cavities, every body allows; and that these subterraneous cavities are, at certain times, and in certain seasons, full of inflammable vapors, the damps in mines sufficiently witness, which fired, do every thing as in an earthquake, save in a lesser degree.

Add, that the pyrites alone, of all the known minerals, yields this inflammable vapor, is highly probable: for that no mineral or ore, whatsoever, is sulphurous, but as it is wholly, or in part, a pyrites; and that there is but one species of brimstone, which the pyrites naturally and only yields. The sulphur vive, or natural brimstone, which is

found in and about the burning mountains, is certainly the effects of sublimation ; and those great quantities of it said to be found about the skirts of volcanos, is only an argument of the long duration and vehemence of those fires ; possibly, the pyrites of the volcanos, or burning mountains, may be more sulphurous than ours : and indeed it is plain, that some of ours in England are very lean, and hold but little sulphur ; others again very much ; which may be one reason why England is so little troubled with earthquakes ; and Italy, and almost all round the Mediterranean sea, so very much : though another reason is, the paucity of pyrites in England.

Comparing our earthquakes, thunder and lightning with theirs, it is observed, that there it lightens almost daily, especially in summer-time, here seldom ; there thunder and lightning is of long duration, here it is soon over ; there the earthquakes are frequent, long and terrible, with many paroxysms in a day, and that for many days ; here very short, a few minutes, and scarce perceptible. To this purpose the subterraneous caverns in England are small and few compared to the vast vaults in those parts of the world ; which is evident from the sudden disappearance of whole mountains and islands.

Dr. Woodward gives us another theory of earthquakes. He endeavors to shew, that the subterraneous heat, or fire (which is continually elevating water out of the abyss, to furnish the earth with rain, dew, springs and rivers) being stopped in any part of the earth, and so diverted from its ordinary course, by some accidental glut or obstruction in the pores or passages, through which it used to ascend to the surface ; becomes, by such means, preternaturally assembled in a greater quantity than usual into one place, and therefore causeth a great rarefaction and intumescence of the water of the abyss ; putting it into great commotions and disorders, and at the same time making the like effort on the earth ; which being expanded upon the face of the abyss, occasions that agitation and concussion we call an earthquake.

This effort in some earthquakes, he observes is so vehement, that it splits and tears the earth, making cracks and chasms in it some miles in length, which open at the instant of the shock, and close again in the intervals betwixt them: nay, it is sometimes so violent, that it forces the superincumbent strata, breaks them all throughout, and thereby perfectly undermines, and ruins the foundation of them; so that these failing, the whole tract, as soon as the shock is over, sinks down into the abyss, and is swallowed up by it; the water thereof immediately rising up and forming a lake in the place, where the said tract before was. That this effort being made in all directions indifferently, the fire dilating and expanding on all hands, and endeavoring to get room, and make its way through all obstacles, falls as foul on the waters of the abyss beneath, as on the earth above, forcing it forth, which way soever it can find vent or passage, as well through its ordinary exits, wells, springs, and the outlets of rivers, as through the chasms then newly opened; through the camini or spiracles of *Ætna*, or other neighboring volcanos; and these hiatus's at the bottom of the sea, whereby the abyss below opens into it and communicates with it. That as the water resident in the abyss is, in all parts of it, stored with a considerable quantity of heat, and more especially in those where those extraordinary aggregations of this fire happen, so likewise is the water which is thus forced out of it; insomuch that when thrown forth and mixed with the waters of wells or springs of rivers, and the sea, it renders them very sensibly hot.

He adds, that though the abyss be liable to those commotions in all parts; yet the effects are no where very remarkable except in those countries, which are mountainous, and consequently stony or cavernous underneath; and especially where the disposition of the strata is such, that those caverns open into the abyss, and so freely admit and entertain the fire; which assembling therein is the cause of the shock: it naturally steering its course that way where it finds the readiest reception, which is towards those caverns. Besides, that those parts of the earth which abound

with strata of stone or marble, making the strongest opposition to this effort, are the most furiously shattered ; and suffer much more by it, than those which consist of gravel, sand, and the like laxer matter, which more easily give way, and make not so great resistance ; but, above all, those countries which yield great store of sulphur and nitre, are, by far, the most injured by earthquakes ; those minerals constituting in the earth a kind of natural gunpowder, which taking fire upon this assemblage, and approach of it, occasions that murmuring noise, that subterraneous thunder, which is heard rumbling in the bowels of the earth during earthquakes, and by the assistance of its explosive power, renders the shock much greater, so as sometimes to make miserable havoc and destruction.

And it is for this reason, that Italy, Sicily, Anatolia, and some parts of Greece, have been so long, and often alarmed and harassed by earthquakes ; these countries being all mountainous and cavernous, abounding with stone and marble, and affording sulphur and nitre in great plenty.

Further, that Ætna, Vesuvius, Hæcla, and the other volcanos, are only so many spiracles, serving for the discharge of this subterraneous fire, when it is thus preternaturally assembled. That where there happens to be such a structure and conformation of the interior parts of the earth, as that the fire may pass freely, and without impediment, from the caverns wherein it assembles unto those spiracles : it then readily and easily gets out from time to time, without shaking or disturbing the earth : but where such communication is wanting, or passage not sufficiently large and open, so that it cannot come at the spiracles, it heaves up and shocks the earth with greater or lesser impetuosity, according to the quantity of fire thus assembled, till it has made its way to the mouth of the volcano. That therefore there are scarce any countries much annoyed by earthquakes, but have one of these fiery vents ; which are constantly in flames when any earthquake happens ; as disgorging that fire, which whilst underneath was the cause of the disaster. Lastly, that were it not for these *diverticula*, it

would rage in the bowels of the earth much more furiously, and make greater havoc than it doth.

We have seen what fire and water may do ; and that either of them are sufficient for all the phenomena of earthquakes ; if they should both fail, we have a third agent, scarce inferior to either of them : the reader must not be surprised when we tell him it is air.

Mons. Amontons, in the *Memoires de l'Acad. des Sciences*, An. 1703, has an express discourse to prove, that on the foot of the new experiments of the weight and spring of the air, a moderate degree of heat may bring the air into a condition, capable of causing earthquakes. It is shewn, that at the depth of 43,528 fathoms below the surface of the earth, air is only one-fourth less heavy than mercury. Now, this depth of 43,528 fathoms is only a 74th part of the semi-diameter of the earth. And the vast sphere beyond this depth, in diameter 6,451,538 fathoms, may probably be only filled with air ; which will be here greatly condensed, and much heavier than the heaviest bodies we know in nature. But it is found by experiment, that the more air is compressed, the more does the same degree of heat increase its spring, and the more capable does it render it of a violent effect : and that, for instance, the degree of heat of boiling water increases the spring of the air above what it has in its natural state, in our climate, by a quantity equal to a third of the weight wherewith it is pressed. Whence we may conclude, that a degree of heat, which on the surface of the earth will only have a moderate effect, may be capable of a very violent one below. And as we are assured, that there are in nature degrees of heat, much more considerable than that of boiling water : it is very possible there may be some, whose violence, further assisted by the exceeding weight of the air, may be more than sufficient to break and overturn this solid orb of 43,528 fathoms ; whose weight, compared to that of the included air, would be but a trifle.

Chemistry furnishes us a method of making artificial earthquakes, which shall have all the great effects of natural ones : which, as it may illustrate the process of nature

In the production of these terrible phenomena under ground, we shall here add.

To twenty pounds of iron filings, add 'as many of sulphur: mix, work, and temper the whole together with a little water, so as to form a mass, half moist and half dry. This being buried three or four feet under ground, in six or seven hours time, will have a prodigious effect: The earth will begin to tremble, crack and smoke, and fire and flame burst through.

Such is the effect even of the two cold bodies, in cold ground: there only wants a sufficient quantity of this mixture to produce a true *Ætna*. If it were supposed to burst out under the sea, it would produce a spout. And if it were in the clouds, the effect would be thunder and lightning.

An earthquake is defined to be a vehement shake, or agitation of some considerable place, or part of the earth; from natural causes; attended with a huge noise like thunder, and frequently with an eruption of water, or fire, or smoke, or winds, &c.

They are the greatest and most formidable phenomena of nature. Aristotle and Pliny distinguish two kinds, with respect to the manner of the shake, viz. a tremor and a pulsation; the first being horizontal, in alternate vibrations, compared to the shaking of a person in an ague. The second perpendicular, up and down, their motion resembling that of boiling.

Agricola encreases the number, and makes four kinds; which Alb. Magnus again reduces to three, viz. inclination, when the earth librates alternately from right to left; by which mountains have been sometimes brought to meet, and clash against each other: pulsation, when it beats up and down like an artery: and trembling, when it shakes and totters every way, like a flame.

The Philosophical Transactions furnish us with abundance of histories of earthquakes; particularly one at Oxford, in 1665, by Dr. Wallis and Mr. Boyle. Another at the same place in 1688, by Mr. Pigot. Another in Sicily, in 1692-3, by Mr. Hartop, Fa. Alessandro Burgos, and

Vin. Bonajutus, which last is one of the most terrible ones in all history.

It shook the whole island ; and not only that, but Naples and Malta shared in the shock. It was of the second kind mentioned by Aristotle and Pliny, viz. a perpendicular pulsation, or succussion. It was impossible, says the noble Bonajutus, for any body, in this country, to keep on their legs, on the dancing earth ; nay, those that lay on the ground, were tossed from side to side, as on a rolling billow : high walls leaped from their foundations several paces.

The mischief it did is amazing : almost all the buildings in the countries were thrown down. Fifty-four cities and towns, besides an incredible number of villages, were either destroyed or greatly damaged. We shall only instance the fate of Catanea, one of the most famous, ancient, and

ourishing cities in the kingdom ; the residence of several monarchs, and an university. This once famous, now unhappy Catanea, to use the words of Fa. Burgos, had the greatest share in the tragedy, Fa. Anthon. Serovita, being on his way thither, and at the distance of a few miles, observed a black cloud, like night, hovering over the city ; and there arose from the mouth of Mongibello, great spires of flame, which spread all around. The sea all of a sudden began to roar, and rise in billows ; and there was a blow, as if all the artillery in the world had been at once discharged. The birds flew about astonished, the cattle in the fields ran crying, &c. His and his companion's horse stopped short, trembling ; so that they were forced to alight. They were no sooner off, but they were lifted from the ground above two palms ; when casting his eyes towards Catanea, he with amazement saw nothing but a thick cloud of dust in the air. This was the scene of their calamity : for of the magnificent Catanea, there is not the least footstep to be seen. S. Bonajutus assures us, that of 18,914 inhabitants, 18000 perished therein. The same author, from a computation of the inhabitants, before and after the earthquake, in the several cities and towns, finds that near 60,000 perished out of 254,900.

Jamaica is remarkable for earthquakes. The inhabitants, Dr. Sloan informs us, expect one every year. That author gives us the history of one in 1687: another horrible one in 1692, is described by several anonymous authors. In two minutes time it shook down and drowned nine-tenths of the town of Port Royal. The houses sunk outright, thirty or forty fathoms deep. The earth opening, swallowed up people; and they rose in other streets; some in the middle of the harbor, and yet were saved; though there were 2000 people lost, and 1000 acres of land sunk. All the houses were thrown down throughout the island. One Hopkins had his plantation removed half a mile from its place. Of all wells, from one fathom to six or seven, the water flew out at the top with a vehement motion. While the houses, on the one side of the street were swallowed up, on the other they were thrown on heaps; and the sand in the street rose like waves in the sea, lifting up every body that stood on it, and immediately dropping down into pits; and at the same instant, a flood of waters breaking in, rolled them over and over; some catching hold of beams and rafters, &c. Ships and sloops in the harbor were over-set and lost; the Swan frigate particularly, by the motion of the sea, and sinking of the wharf, was driven over the tops of many houses. It was attended with a hollow rumbling noise like that of thunder. In less than a minute three quarters of the houses, and the ground they stood on with the inhabitants, were all sunk quite under water; and the little part, left behind, was no better than a heap of rubbish. The shake was so violent, that it threw people down on their knees, or their faces, as they were running about for shelter. The ground heaved and swelled like a rolling sea, and several houses still standing, were shuffled and moved some yards out of their places. A whole street is said to be twice as broad now as before; and in many places the earth would crack, and open, and shut, quick and fast. Of which openings, two or three hundred might be seen at a time; in some whereof, the people were swallowed up; others, the closing earth caught by the middle, and pressed

to death; in others, the heads only appeared, The larger openings swallowed up houses; and out of some would issue whole rivers of waters, spouted up a great height into the air, and threatening a deluge to that part the earthquake spared. The whole was attended with stench and offensive smells, the noise of falling mountains at a distance, &c. and the sky in a minute's time, was turned dull and reddish, like a glowing oven. Yet, as great a sufferer as Port Royal was, more houses were left standing therein, than on the whole island beside. Scarce a planting house, or sugar work was left standing in all Jamaica. A great part of them were swallowed up, houses, people, trees, and all at one gape: in lieu of which afterwards, appeared great pools of water, which when driven up, left nothing but sand, without any mark that ever tree or plant had been thereon. Above twelve miles from the sea, the earth gaped and spouted out, with a prodigious force, vast quantities of water into the air: yet the greatest violences were among the mountains and rocks: and it is a general opinion, that the nearer the mountains, the greater the shake; and that the cause thereof lay there. Most of the rivers were stopped up for twenty-four hours, by the falling of the mountains, till swelling up, they found themselves new tracts and channels, tearing up in their passage trees, &c. After the great shake, those people who escaped, got on board ships in the harbor, where many continued above two months; the shakes all that time being so violent, and coming so thick, sometimes two or three in an hour, accompanied with frightful noises like a ruffling wind, or a hollow rumbling thunder, with brimstone blasts, that they durst not come ashore. The consequences of the earthquake was a general sickness, from the noisome vapors belched forth, which swept away above 3000 persons.

After the detail of these horrible convulsions, the reader will have but little curiosity left, for the less considerable phenomena of the earthquake at Lima, in 1687, described by Fa. Alvarez de Toledo, wherein above 5000 persons were destroyed; this being of the vibratory kind, so that

the bells in the church rung of themselves : or that at Batavia in 1699, by Witzen : that in the north of England in 1703, by Mr. Thoresby : or, lastly, those in New England in 1663 and 1670, by Dr. Mather.

DIALOGUE

Between Philocles and Horatio, meeting accidentally in the fields, concerning Virtue and Pleasure.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 84, June 23, 1730.

Philocles. MY friend Horatio! I am very glad to see you ; prithee how came such a man as you alone? and musing too? What misfortune in your pleasures has sent you to philosophy for relief.

Horatio. You guess very right, my dear Philocles: We pleasure-hunters are never without them ; and yet, so enchanting is the game, we cannot quit the chace. How calm and undisturbed is your life, how free from present embarrassments and future cares, I know you love me, and look with compassion upon my conduct: shew me then the path which leads up to that constant and invariable good, which I have heard you so beautifully describe, and which you seem so fully to possess.

Phil. There are few men in the world I value more than you, Horatio! for amidst all your foibles, and painful pursuits of pleasure, I have oft observed in you an honest heart, and a mind strongly bent towards virtue. I wish, from my soul, I could assist you in acting steadily the part of a reasonable creature: for, if you would not think it a paradox, I should tell you I love you better than you do yourself.

Hor. A paradox indeed! better than I do myself! when I love my dear self so well, that I love every thing else for my own sake.

Phil. He only loves himself well, who rightly and judiciously loves himself.

Hor. What do you mean by that, Philocles! You men of reason and virtue are always dealing in mysteries, though

you laugh at them when the church makes them. I think he loves himself very well and very judiciously too, as you call it, who allows himself to do whatever he pleases.

Phil. What, though it be to the ruin and destruction of that very self which he loves so well! That man alone loves himself rightly, who procures the greatest possible good to himself through the whole of his existence; and so pursues pleasure as not to give for it more than it is worth.

Hor. That depends all upon opinion. Who shall judge what the pleasure is worth? Suppose a pleasing form of the fair kind strikes me so much, that I can enjoy nothing without the enjoyment of that one object. Or, that pleasure in general is so favorite a mistress, that I will take her as men do their wives, for better, for worse; minding no consequences, nor regarding what is to come. Why should I not do it?

Phil. Suppose, Horatio! that a friend of yours entered into the world, about two and twenty, with a healthful vigorous body, and a fair plentiful estate of about five hundred pounds a year; and yet, before he had reached thirty, should, by following his pleasures, and not, as you say, duly regarding consequences, have run out of his estate, and disabled his body to that degree, that he had neither the means nor capacity of enjoyment left; nor any thing else to do but wisely shoot himself through the head to be at rest: what would you say to this unfortunate man's conduct? Is it wrong by opinion or fancy only? Or is there really a right and wrong in the case? Is not one opinion of life and action juster than another? Or one sort of conduct preferable to another? Or, does that miserable son of pleasure appear as reasonable and lovely a being in your eyes, as a man, who by prudently and rightly gratifying his natural passions, had preserved his body in full health, and his estate entire, and enjoyed both to a good old age, and then died with a thankful heart for the good things he had received, and with an entire submission to the will of him who first called him into being. Say, Horatio! are these men equally wise and happy? And is every thing to be

measured by mere fancy and opinion, without considering whether that fancy or opinion be right?

Hor. Hardly so neither, I think ; yet sure the wise and good author of nature could never make us to plague us. He could never give us passions, on purpose to subdue and conquer them ; nor produce this self of mine, or any other self, only that it may be denied ; for, that is denying the works of the great Creator himself. Self-denial then, which is what I suppose you mean by prudence, seems to me not only absurd, but very dishonorable to that supreme wisdom and goodness which is supposed to make so ridiculous and contradictory a creature, that must be always fighting with himself in order to be at rest, and undergo voluntary hardships in order to be happy : are we created sick, only to be commanded to be sound ? Are we born under one law, our passions, and yet bound to another, that of reason ? Answer me, Philocles, for I am warmly concerned for the honor of nature, the mother of us all.

Phil. I find Horatio, my two characters have frightened you ; so that you decline the trial of what is good, by reason : and had rather make a bold attack upon Providence ; the usual way of you gentlemen of fashion, who, when, by living in defiance of the eternal rules of reason, you have plunged yourselves into a thousand difficulties, endeavor to make yourselves easy, by throwing the burden upon nature ; you are, Horatio, in a very miserable condition indeed ; for you say, you cannot be happy if you control your passions ; and you feel yourself miserable by an unrestrained gratification of them ; so that here is evil, irremediable evil either way.

Hor. That is very true, at least it appears so to me ; pray what have you to say, Philocles, in honor of nature or Providence ; methinks, I am in pain for her : How do you rescue her ? poor lady !

Phil. This, my dear Horatio, I have to say, that what you find fault with and clamor against, as the most terrible evil in the world, self-denial, is really the greatest good, and the highest self-gratification : If indeed you use the

word in the sense of some weak sour moralists, and much weaker divines ; you will have just reason to laugh at it ; but, if you take it, as understood by philosophers, and men of sense, you will presently see her charms, and fly to her embraces, notwithstanding her demure looks, as absolutely necessary to produce even your own darling sole good, pleasure : for, self-denial is never a duty, or a reasonable action, but as it is a natural means of procuring more pleasure, than you can taste without it, so that this grave saint-like guide to happiness, as rough and dreadful as she has been made to appear, is, in truth, the kindest and most beautiful mistress in the world.

Hor. Prithee, Philocles, do not wrap yourself in allegory and metaphor ; why do you teaze me thus ? I long to be satisfied, what is this philosophical self-denial ; the necessity and reason of it ; I am impatient, and all on fire ; explain therefore, in your beautiful natural easy way of reasoning, what I am to understand by this grave lady of yours, with so forbidding down-cast looks, and yet, so absolutely necessary to my pleasures, I stand ready to embrace her ; for you know, pleasure I court under all shapes and forms.

Phil. Attend then, and you will see the reason of this philosophical self-denial. There can be no absolute perfection in any creature ; because every creature is derived from something of a superior existence, and dependent on that source for its own existence : no created being can be all-wise, all-good, and all-powerful, because his powers and capacities are finite and limited ; consequently whatever is created must, in its own nature, be subject to error, irregularity, excess, and imperfectness. All intelligent rational agents find in themselves a power of judging what kind of beings they are ; what actions are proper to preserve them ; and what consequences will generally attend them ; what pleasures they are formed for, and to what degree their natures are capable of receiving them. All we have to do then Horatio, is to consider, when we are surprised with a new object, and passionately desire to enjoy it, whether the gratifying that passion be consistent with the gratifying other passions and appetites equal, if not more necessary to us. And whe-

ther it consists with our happiness to-morrow, next week, or next year; for, as we all wish to live, we are obliged, by reason, to take as much care for our future, as our present happiness, and not build one upon the ruins of the other: but, if through the strength and power of a present passion, and through want of attending to consequences, we have erred, and exceeded the bounds which nature or reason have set us; we are then, for our own sakes, to refrain, or deny ourselves a present momentary pleasure, for a future, constant, and durable one: so that this philosophical self-denial is only refusing to do an action, which you strongly desire; because it is inconsistent with your health, convenience, or circumstances in the world: or, in other words, because it would cost you more than it was worth. You would lose by it, as a man of pleasure. Thus you see, Horatio, that self-denial is not only the most reasonable, but the most pleasant thing in the world.

Hor. We are just coming into town, so that we cannot pursue this argument any farther at present; you have said a great deal for nature, Providence and reason: happy are they who can follow such divine guides.

Phil. Horatio, good night; I wish you wise in your pleasures.

Hor. I wish, Philocles, I could be as wise in my pleasures, as you are pleasantly wise; your wisdom is agreeable; your virtue is amiable; and your philosophy the highest luxury. Adieu! thou enchanting reasoner.

A SECOND DIALOGUE

Between Philocles and Horatio, concerning Virtue and Pleasure.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 86, July 9, 1730.

Philocles. DEAR Horatio, Where hast thou been these three or four months? What new adventures have you fallen upon since I met you in these delightful all-inspiring fields, and wondered how such a pleasure-hunter as you could bear being alone?

Horatio. O Philocles! thou best of friends, because a friend to reason and virtue! I am very glad to see you:

Do not you remember, I told you then, that some misfortunes in my pleasures had sent me to philosophy for relief; but now I do assure you, I can, without a sigh, leave other pleasures for those of philosophy: I can hear the word reason mentioned, and virtue praised, without laughing: Do not I bid fair for conversion, think you?

Phil. Very fair, Horatio, for I remember the time when reason, virtue, and pleasure were the same thing with you: when you counted nothing good but what pleased; nor any thing reasonable but what you gained by: when you made a jest of a mind, and the pleasures of reflection; and elegantly placed your sole happiness, like the rest of the animal creation, in the gratification of sense.

Hor. I did so; but in our last conversation, when walking upon the brow of this hill, and looking down on that broad rapid river, and yon widely extended, beautifully varied plain, you taught me another doctrine: you shewed me, that self-denial, which above all things I abhorred, was really the greatest good, and the highest self-gratification, and absolutely necessary to produce even my own darling sole good, pleasure.

Phil. True: I told you, that self-denial was never a duty, but when it was a natural means of procuring more pleasure, than we could taste without it: that as we all strongly desire to live, and to live only to enjoy, we should take as much care about our future as our present happiness; and not build one upon the ruins of the other: that we should look to the end, and regard consequences: and if, through want of attention, we had erred, and exceeded the bounds which nature had set us, we were then obliged, for our own sakes, to refrain, or deny ourselves a present momentary pleasure, for a future, constant, and durable good.

Hor. You have shewn, Philocles, that self-denial, which weak or interested men have rendered the most forbidding, is really the most delightful and amiable, the most reasonable and pleasant thing in the world. In a word, if I understand you aright, self-denial is, in truth, self-recog-

nizing, self-acknowledging, or self-owning. But now, my friend, you are to perform another promise; and, shew me the path which leads up to that constant, durable, and invariable good, which I have heard you so beautifully describe, and which you seem so fully to possess: Is not this good of yours a mere chimera? Can any thing be constant in a world which is eternally changing! and which appears to exist by an everlasting revolution of one thing into another, and where every thing without us, and every thing within us, is in perpetual motion? What is this constant durable good, then, of yours? Prithee satisfy my soul, for I am all on fire, and impatient to enjoy her. Produce this eternal blooming goddess, with never fading charms; and see, whether I will not embrace her with as much eagerness and rapture as you.

Phil. You seem enthusiastically warm, Horatio, I will wait till you are cool enough to attend to the sober dispassionate voice of reason.

Hor. You mistake me, my dear Philocles, my warmth is not so great as to run away with my reason: it is only just raised enough to open my faculties, and fit them to receive those eternal truths, and that durable good which you so triumphantly boast of. Begin then, I am prepared.

Phil. I will, I believe, Horatio, with all your scepticism about you, you will allow that good to be constant which is never absent from you, and that to be durable, which never ends but with your being.

Hor. Yes, go on.

Phil. That can never be the good of a creature, which when present, the creature may be miserable, and when absent, is certainly so.

Hor. I think not; but pray explain what you mean; for I am not much used to this abstract way of reasoning.

Phil. I mean, all the pleasures of sense. The good of man cannot consist in the mere pleasures of sense; because, when any one of those objects which you love is absent, or cannot be come at, you are certainly miserable: and if the faculty be impaired, though the object be present, you can:

not enjoy it. So that this sensual good depends upon a thousand things without and within you, and all out of your power. Can this then be the good of man? Say, Horatio, what think you, is not this a chequered, fleeting, fantastical good? Can that, in any propriety of speech, be called the good of man, which even, while he is tasting, he may be miserable; and which, when he cannot taste, he is necessarily so? Can that be our good, which costs us a great deal of pains to obtain; which cloyes in possessing; for which we must wait the return of appetite, before we can enjoy again? Or, is that our good which we can come at without difficulty; which is heightened by possession; which never ends in weariness and disappointment; and which, the more we enjoy, the better qualified we are to enjoy on?

Hor. The latter, I think; but why do you torment me thus? Philocles, shew me this good immediately.

Phil. I have shewed you what it is not; it is not sensual, but it is rational and moral good. It is doing all the good we can to others, by acts of humanity, friendship, generosity, and benevolence: this is that constant and durable good, which will afford contentment and satisfaction always alike, without variation or diminution. I speak to your experience now, Horatio: Did you ever find yourself weary of relieving the miserable? Or of raising the distressed into life or happiness? Or rather, do not you find the pleasure grow upon you by repetition; and that it is greater in reflection than in the act itself? Is there a pleasure upon earth to be compared with that which arises from the sense of making others happy? Can this pleasure ever be absent, or ever end but with your being? Does it not always accompany you? Doth not it lie down and rise with you, live as long as you live, give you consolation in the article of death, and remain with you in that gloomy hour, when all other things are going to forsake you, or you them?

Hor. How glowingly you paint, Philocles, methinks Horatio is amongst the enthusiasts. I feel the passion: I am enchantingly convinced; but I do not know why: Over-

born by something stronger than reason. Sure, some divinity speaks within me ; but prithee, Philocles, give me coolly the cause, why this rational and moral good so infinitely excels the mere natural or sensual.

Phil. I think, Horatio, that I have clearly shewn you the difference between merely natural or sensual good, and rational or moral good. Natural or sensual pleasure continues no longer than the action itself ; but this divine or moral pleasure continues when the action is over, and swells and grows upon your hand by reflection : the one is inconstant, unsatisfying, of short duration, and attended with numberless ills ; the other is constant, yields full satisfaction, is durable, and no evils preceding, accompanying, or following it. But if you enquire farther into the cause of this difference, and would know why the moral pleasures are greater than the sensual ; perhaps the reason is the same, as in all other creatures, that their happiness or chief good consists in acting up to their chief faculty, or that faculty which distinguishes them from all creatures of a different species. The chief faculty in man is his reason ; and consequently, his chief good ; or, that which may be justly called his good consists not merely in action, but in reasonable action. By reasonable actions, we understand those actions, which are preservative of the human kind, and naturally tend to produce real and unmixed happiness ; and these actions, by way of distinction, we call actions morally good.

Hor. You speak very clearly, Philocles ; but, that no difficulty may remain upon your mind, pray tell me, what is the real difference between natural good and evil, and moral good and evil ; for I know several people who use the terms without ideas.

Phil. That may be : the difference lies only in this, that natural good and evil, are pleasure and pain : moral good and evil, are pleasure or pain produced with intention and design. For, it is the intention only that makes the agent morally good or bad.

Hor. But may not a man, with a very good intention, do an evil action ?

Phil. Yes ; but then he errs in his judgment, though his design be good : if his error is invincible, or such as, all things considered, he could not help, he is inculpable ; but, if it arose through want of diligence in forming his judgment about the nature of human actions, he is immoral and culpable.

Hor. I find then, that in order to please ourselves rightly, or to do good to others morally, we should take great care of our opinions.

Phil. Nothing concerns you more ; for, as the happiness or real good of men consists in right action ; and right action cannot be produced without right opinion ; it behoves us, above all things in this world, to take care that our own opinions of things be according to the nature of things. The foundation of all virtue and happiness is thinking rightly. He who sees an action is right, that is, naturally tending to good, and does it because of that tendency, he only is a moral man ; and he alone is capable of that constant, durable, and invariable good, which has been the subject of this conversation.

Hor. How, my dear philosophical guide, shall be able to know, and determine certainly, what is right and wrong in life ?

Phil. As easily as you distinguish a circle from a square, or light from darkness. Look, Horatio, into the sacred book of nature ; read your own nature, and view the relation which other men stand in to you, and you to them, and you will immediately see what constitutes human happiness, and consequently, what is right.

Hor. We are just coming into town, and can say no more at present. You are my good genius, Philocles, you have shewed me what is good ; you have redeemed me from the slavery and misery of folly and vice ; and made me a free and happy being.

Phil. Then am I the happiest man in the world ; be you steady, Horatio, never depart from reason and virtue.

Hor. Sooner will I lose my existence. Good night, Philocles.

Phil. Adieu, dear Horatio.

PUBLIC MEN.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 95, September 3, 1730.

The following is a dialogue between Socrates, the great Athenian philosopher, and one Glaucon a private man, of mean abilities, but ambitious of being chosen a senator, and of governing the republic ; wherein Socrates, in a pleasant manner, convinces him of his incapacity for public affairs, by making him sensible of his ignorance of the interests of his country, in their several branches, and entirely dissuades him from any attempt of that nature. There is also added, at the end, part of another dialogue, the same Socrates had with one Charmidas, a worthy man, but too modest, wherein he endeavors to persuade him to put himself forward and undertake public business, as being very capable of it. The whole is taken from Xenophon's Memorable things of Socrates, *lib.* 3.

A certain man, whose name was Glaucon, the son of Ariston, had so fixt it in his mind to govern the republic, that he frequently presented himself before the people to discourse of affairs of state, though all the world laughed at him for it ; nor was it in the power of his relations or friends to dissuade him from that design. But Socrates had a kindness for him, on account of Plato his brother, and he only it was who made him change his resolution ; he met him, and accosted him in so winning a manner, that he first obliged him to hearken to his discourse. He began with him thus : You have a mind then to govern the republic ? I have so, answered Glaucon. You cannot, replied Socrates, have a more noble design ; for if you can accomplish it so as to become absolute, you will be able to serve your friends, you will raise your family, you will extend the bounds of your country, you will be known, not only in Athens, but through all Greece, and perhaps your renown will fly even to the barbarous nations, as did that of Themistocles. In short, wherever you come, you will have the respect and admiration of all the world. These words soothed Glaucon, and won him to give ear to Socrates, who went on in this manner. But it is certain,

that if you desire to be honored, you must be useful to the state. Certainly, said Glaucon. And in the name of all the gods, replied Socrates, tell me, what is the first service that you intend to render the state? Glaucon was considering what to answer, when Socrates continued. If you design to make the fortune of one of your friends, you would endeavor to make him rich, and thus perhaps you will make it your business to enrich the republic? I would, answered Glaucon. Socrates replied: would not the way to enrich the republic be to increase its revenue? It is very likely it would, said Glaucon. Tell me then in what consists the revenue of the state, and to how much it may amount? I presume you have particularly studied this matter, to the end that if any thing should be lost on one hand, you might know where to make it good on another, and that if a fund should fail on a sudden, you might immediately be able to settle another in its place? I protest, answered Glaucon, I have never thought of this. Tell me at least the expences of the republic, for no doubt you intend to retrench the superfluous? I never thought of this neither, said Glaucon. You were best then to put off to another time your design of enriching the republic, which you can never be able to do, while you are ignorant both of its expences and revenue. There is another way to enrich a state, said Glaucon, of which you take no notice, and that is by the ruin of its enemies. You are in the right, answered Socrates: but to this end, it is necessary to be stronger than they, otherwise we shall run the hazard of losing what we have: he therefore who talks of undertaking a war, ought to know the strength on both sides, to the end that if his party be the stronger, he may boldly advise for war, and that if it be the weaker, he may dissuade the people from engaging themselves in so dangerous an enterprise. All this is true. Tell me then, continued Socrates, how strong our forces are by sea and land, and how strong are our enemies? Indeed, said Glaucon, I cannot tell you on a sudden. If you have a list of them in writing, pray shew it me, I should be glad to hear it read. I have it not yet. I see then, said Socrates, that

we shall not engage in war so soon: for the greatness of the undertaking will hinder you from maturely weighing all the consequences of it in the beginning of your government. But, continued he, you have thought of the defence of the country, you know what garrisons are necessary, and what are not; you know what number of troops is sufficient in one, and not sufficient in another: you will cause the necessary garrisons to be reinforced, and will disband those that are useless? I should be of opinion, said Glaucon, to leave none of them on foot, because they ruin a country, on pretence of defending it. But, Socrates objected, if all the garrisons were taken away, there would be nothing to hinder the first comer from carrying off what he pleased: but how come you to know that the garrisons behave themselves so ill? Have you been upon the place, have you seen them? Not at all; but I suspect it to be so. When therefore we are certain of it, said Socrates, and can speak upon better grounds than simple conjectures, we will propose this advice to the senate. It may be well to do so, said Glaucon. It comes in to my mind, too, continued Socrates, that you have never been at the mines of silver, to examine why they bring not in so much now as they did formerly. You say true, I have never been there. Indeed they say the place is very unhealthy, and that may excuse you. You rally me now, said Glaucon. Socrates added; but I believe you have at least observed how much corn our lands produce, how long it will serve to supply our city, and how much more we shall want for the whole year; to the end you may not be surprised with a scarcity of bread, but may give timely orders for the necessary provisions. There is a deal to do, said Glaucon, if we must take care of all these things. There is so, replied Socrates, and it is even impossible to manage our own families well, unless we know all that is wanting, and take care to provide it. As you see therefore that our city is composed of above ten thousand families, and it being a difficult task to watch over them all at once, why did you not first try to retrieve your uncle's affairs which are running to decay, and after having given that proof of

your industry, you might have taken a greater trust upon you? But now, when you find yourself incapable of aiding a private man, how can you think of behaving yourself so as to be useful to a whole people? Ought a man who has not strength enough to carry a hundred pound weight, undertake to carry a heavier burden? I would have done good service to my uncle, said Glaucon, if he would have taken my advice. How! replied Socrates, have you not hitherto been able to govern the mind of your uncle, and do you now believe yourself able to govern the minds of all the Athenians, and his among the rest? Take heed, my dear Glaucon, take heed lest too great a desire of power should render you despised; consider how dangerous it is to speak and entertain ourselves concerning things we do not understand: what a figure do those forward and rash people make in the world, who do so; and judge yourself, whether they acquire more esteem than blame, whether they are more admired than contemned. Think on the contrary, with how much honor a man is regarded, who understands perfectly what he says, and what he does, and then you will confess that renown and applause have always been the recompence of true merit, and shame the reward of ignorance and temerity. If therefore you would be honored, endeavor to be a man of true merit; and if you enter upon the government of the republic, with a mind more sagacious than usual, I shall not wonder if you succeed in all your designs.

Thus Socrates put a stop to the disorderly ambition of this man: but on an occasion quite contrary, he in the following manner exhorted Charmidas to take an employment. He was a man of sense, and more deserving than most others in the same post; but as he was of a modest disposition, he constantly declined and made great difficulties of engaging himself in public business. Socrates therefore addressed himself to him in this manner. If you knew any man that could gain the prizes in the public games, and by that means render himself illustrious, and acquire glory to his country, what would you say of him if he refused to

offer himself to the combat? I would say, answered Charmidas, that he was a mean-spirited effeminate fellow. And if a man were capable of governing a republic, of increasing its power by his advice, and of raising himself by this means to a high degree of honor, would you not brand him likewise with meanness of soul, if he would not present himself to be employed? Perhaps I might, said Charmidas; but why do you ask me this question? Socrates replied; because you are capable of managing the affairs of the republic, and nevertheless you avoid doing so, though in quality of a citizen you are *obliged* to take care of the commonwealth. Be no longer then thus negligent in this matter, consider your abilities and your duty with more attention, and let not slip the occasions of serving the republic, and of rendering it, if possible, more flourishing than it is. This will be a blessing whose influence will descend not only on the other citizens, but on your best friends and yourself.

THE HANDSOME AND DEFORMED LEG.

THERE are two sorts of people in the world, who, with equal degrees of health and wealth, and the other comforts of life, become, the one happy, and the other miserable. This arises very much from the different views in which they consider things, persons, and events; and the effect of those different views upon their own minds.

In whatever situation men can be placed, they may find conveniences and inconveniences; in whatever company, they may find persons and conversation more or less pleasing: at whatever table, they may meet with meats and drinks of better and worse taste, dishes better and worse dressed; in whatever climate, they will find good and bad weather: under whatever government, they may find good and bad laws, and good and bad administration of those laws; in whatever poem, or work of genius, they may see faults and beauties; in almost every face, and every person, they may discover fine features and defects, good and bad qualities.

Under these circumstances, the two sorts of people above mentioned fix their attention, those, who are disposed to be happy, on the conveniences of things, the pleasant parts of conversation, the well-dressed dishes, the goodness of the wines, the fine weather, &c. and enjoy all with cheerfulness. Those, who are to be unhappy, think and speak only of the contraries. Hence they are continually discontented themselves, and, by their remarks, sour the pleasures of society, offend personally many people, and make themselves every where disagreeable. If this turn of mind was founded in nature, such unhappy persons would be the more to be pitied. But as the disposition to criticise, and to be disgusted, is, perhaps, taken up originally by imitation, and is, unawares, grown into a habit, which, though at present strong, may nevertheless be cured, when those who have it are convinced of its bad effects on their felicity; I hope this little admonition may be of service to them, and put them on changing a habit, which, though in the exercise it is chiefly an act of imagination, yet has serious consequences in life, as it brings on real griefs and misfortunes. For, as many are offended by, and nobody loves this sort of people, no one shows them more than the most common civility and respect, and scarcely that; and this frequently puts them out of humor, and draws them into disputes and contentions. If they aim at obtaining some advantage in rank or fortune, nobody wishes them success, or will stir a step, or speak a word, to favor their pretensions. If they incur public censure or disgrace, no one will defend or excuse, and many join to aggravate their misconduct, and render them completely odious. If these people will not change this bad habit, and condescend to be pleased with what is pleasing, without fretting themselves and others about the contraries, it is good for others to avoid an acquaintance with them; which is always disagreeable, and sometimes very inconvenient, especially when one finds oneself entangled in their quarrels.

An old philosophical friend of mine was grown, from experience, very cautious in this particular, and carefully

avoided any intimacy with such people. He had, like other philosophers, a thermometer, to show him the heat of the weather, and a barometer, to mark when it was likely to prove good or bad ; but there being no instrument invented to discover, at first sight, this unpleasing disposition in a person, he, for that purpose, made use of his legs ; one of which was remarkably handsome, the other, by some accident, crooked and deformed. If a stranger, at the first interview, regarded his ugly leg more than his handsome one, he doubted him. If he spoke of it, and took no notice of the handsome leg, that was sufficient to determine my philosopher to have no further acquaintance with him. Every body has not this two-legged instrument ; but every one, with a little attention, may observe signs of that carping, fault-finding disposition, and take the same resolution of avoiding the acquaintance of those infected with it. I therefore advise those critical querulous, discontented, unhappy people, that, if they wish to be respected and beloved by others, and happy in themselves, they should *leave off looking at the ugly leg.*

END OF THE VOLUME.

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